

EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA—PART 3, BASED UPON TESTIMONY
OF MATTHEW CVETIC AND DOCUMENTS OF COMMUNIST
PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee of one met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter, presiding.

Committee member present: Hon. Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; and Courtney Owens, investigator.

Mr. WALTER. The meeting will come to order. For the purpose of this hearing, I have been designated by the chairman as a subcommittee of one.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Matthew Cvetic.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Cvetic, will you raise your right hand, please. You swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CVETIC. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Cvetic, you have testified before this committee on previous occasions; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Your testimony has dealt in great detail with Communist Party activities in western Pennsylvania; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. CVETIC. Matthew Cvetic.

Mr. OWENS. What is your present address?

Mr. CVETIC. William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Cvetic, the committee is desirous of ascertaining whether or not you have any knowledge regarding Communist Party activity and/or Communist-front activity in the Ohio Valley area, specifically eastern Ohio and northern West Virginia. As a result of

your undercover work for the United States Government, do you possess any knowledge with regard to this sort of activity?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. I think it might be well to take up the Communist-front organizations active in that area first. I think, for the sake of an orderly presentation, I will ask you about a given organization and what you know about it for the area in question. How active, to your knowledge, is the International Workers Order in that part of the country, that is, the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. The International Workers Order in that area is one of the active components of the Communist fronts in the United States. This organization is directed by Communist Party organizers who are employed by the International Workers Order and who cover this area for the Communist Party in the International Workers Order. The Communist Party organizers with whom I became acquainted and who were responsible for the direction of the work in the International Workers Order branches in this area were the following: Nicholas Baltich, for the Serbian branches; Michael Hanusiak, for the Ukrainian branches; John Middleton, for the English-speaking branches; Steve Mirokovich, for the Croatian branches; Sam Nicolauk, for the Russian branches.

I know all these men to be organizers of the IWO and members of the Nationality Commission of the Communist Party because I have sat in meetings with them where the work for this area was planned.

Mr. OWENS. These Nationality Commission meetings: Were they Nationality Commission meetings of the Communist Party on a local level?

Mr. CVETIC. Some were on a local and some were on a national level.

Mr. OWENS. You stated that the operation of the IWO was discussed by these individuals in your presence at meetings of the Nationality Commission. What, in particular, was usually discussed with regard to the functioning of the IWO in this Ohio Valley area, if you can recall?

Mr. CVETIC. Specifically, the matters we discussed with reference to the Ohio Valley area were recruiting drives for IWO members for the Communist Party; the showing of Communist-propaganda pictures in the IWO lodges; organizing mass rallies for the purpose of raising funds for the Communist-controlled newspapers; and in the past 2 years organizing fund drives for the defense of the 11 Communist Party leaders who were tried and convicted in New York in 1949; and to take up with the IWO branch secretaries the usual routine matters in connection with the work in the local branches.

Mr. OWENS. These individuals you have named as directing the activities of the IWO in the Ohio Valley area, are they residents of that area or not?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir. These are residents of Pittsburgh and New York who function as national organizers of the International Workers Order.

Mr. OWENS. For that area; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. For that area.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have any knowledge of the individuals who carried out the directions of these individuals on a local level?

Mr. CVETIC. I do not recall at the present time.

Mr. OWENS. Then you cannot at this time identify the local residents who head the IWO in that specific area?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How active is the American Slav Congress in the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. While I was a member of the American Slav Congress we had active American Slav Congress committees and members throughout the Ohio Valley. The work for West Virginia and eastern Ohio was directed out of the national office of the American Slav Congress in New York, and also out of the western Pennsylvania office of the American Slav Congress in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Did the American Slav Congress maintain an office and officers anywhere in the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. We did have an active committee with elected officers in the Wheeling, W. Va., area. These officers were elected for the Ohio Valley section.

Mr. OWENS. Can you recall the names of any of these officers at this point?

Mr. CVETIC. The following were the officers of this committee: Genne Crockard, 610 South Front Street, Wheeling, W. Va., secretary; Louis Gorenc, Boydsville, Bridgeport, Ohio; Martin Kross, same address; Louis Susterich, same address.

The active contact for the committee was the secretary, Genne Crockard, who was in continuous contact with the western Pennsylvania office of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know any of the individuals you have just named as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. At this time I cannot answer that question accurately. I will have to refresh my recollection and endeavor to recall the circumstances of my association or contact with these individuals.

Mr. OWENS. Can you approximate the membership of the American Slav Congress, or supporters of the American Slav Congress, in the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. From the credentials to the American Slav Congress convention in 1944, we had approximately 5,000 supporters in that area. This number, in recent months, has dwindled to 200 or 300. That is represented by credentials to the last conference of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. OWENS. When was this conference you speak of held?

Mr. CVETIC. This conference was held either in the fall of 1948 or the spring of 1949. The drop in delegates and members was a result of the exposé by the Committee on Un-American Activities, which exposed the Communist character and leadership of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. OWENS. Before we go on to the next organization, is there anything else that you might like to add about the American Slav Congress in that area? If not, we will go on to the next organization.

Mr. CVETIC. I don't believe there is anything to add at this time.

Mr. OWENS. To your knowledge, Mr. Cvetic, how active has the Progressive Party been in this area?

Mr. CVETIC. While the Progressive Party did function in this area, they were never too successful, as in the 1948 Presidential elections the

Communist Party of western Pennsylvania directed several of its members to go into this area for the purpose of securing enough names on nomination petitions to insure that the Progressive Party would be placed on the ballot in West Virginia and also in eastern Ohio.

Mr. OWENS. You probably have, in prior testimony, identified these individuals, but for continuity's sake will you identify the individuals who did go into these areas on behalf of the Progressive Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Milo Mamula, George Wuchinich, Joe Rudiak, and others, all of whom I have identified as members of the Communist Party before this committee in previous testimony.

Mr. OWENS. Did you have any way of ascertaining names and/or addresses of local people who lent their support to these individuals who came from western Pennsylvania?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. To your knowledge, how active has the Civil Rights Congress been in the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. The only activity which the Civil Rights Congress carried on in the Ohio Valley area was carried on through mail campaigns out of the New York and Pittsburgh offices of the Civil Rights Congress. I do not know of any active committees functioning in any of the towns in the Ohio Valley.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know whether or not the Civil Rights Congress maintained offices in any cities in this area?

Mr. CVETIC. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. OWENS. Specifically, have you ever been in contact with officers of the Civil Rights Congress in any of the larger cities in Ohio?

Mr. CVETIC. I have received communications from a Cleveland office, the address of which was room 211, 830 Vincent Avenue, Cleveland 14, Ohio. The executive secretary of this congress with William Haber.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know Mr. Haber as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. At this time I cannot say. I will refresh my recollection regarding the circumstances under which I first met or had contact with him.

Mr. OWENS. Did you ever take part in any activities sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress in Ohio or the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. I do not recollect.

Mr. OWENS. Will you tell the committee what you know of the activities of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born within the Ohio Valley area and also the State of Ohio?

Mr. CVETIC. I was closely associated with Abner Green, the national executive secretary of this committee. I met with Mr. Green on several occasions in meetings of the nationality commission of the Communist Party, during which he discussed a tour of that area. The cities which he covered in his tour included Cleveland, Akron, and the Steubenville-Weirton areas. As was true of the Civil Rights Congress, much of the activities of this committee was conducted through mail campaigns, and also by appeals of IWO organizers on tours in this section. This does not include the cities of Cleveland and Akron, which have their own American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

Mr. OWENS. Can you give the committee the names of local individuals in the Cleveland and Akron offices of this organization, if you have knowledge of that?

Mr. CVETIC. At the present time I wouldn't be able to add any names of local people in these areas.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have any knowledge of the activities in the Ohio Valley area of an organization called the National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. There are several committees of this organization functioning in the Ohio Valley, and all of them are under the direction of Frank Borich, the national executive secretary of this organization, whom I have previously identified as a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Frank Borich's headquarters are in Pittsburgh, Pa.; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Can you name specifically the cities where these committees may be found, if you can recollect?

Mr. CVETIC. Cleveland, Ohio; Akron, Ohio; the Weirton-Steubenville area; Wheeling, W. Va.; and several other towns which I cannot recollect at the present time.

Mr. OWENS. Can you at this time recall the names of the local individuals who were active in these local committees?

Mr. CVETIC. At this time I do not recollect.

Mr. OWENS. Will you tell the committee what you know of the activities in the area in question of the Serbian Vidovdan Congress?

Mr. CVETIC. This congress, which is a Communist front, is operated out of 1916 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh, by Mane Susnjar, whom I have previously identified before this committee as a member of the Communist Party and also a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party. This congress had committees operating in Cleveland, Akron, Wheeling, W. Va., and other towns in the Ohio Valley.

Mr. OWENS. Can you recall any names of local individuals active in behalf of this Congress?

Mr. CVETIC. In addition to Susnjar, there was an attorney from Akron, Ohio, one Zarkov Buncich, whom I have previously identified before this committee as a member of the Communist Party and a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Will you tell the committee what you know of the activities in the area in question of the Slovenian American National Council?

Mr. CVETIC. This council operated principally in Cleveland, Ohio, which has a large Slovene population. I have attended several meetings of Slovene Communist Party members in the Cleveland office of the Communist Party where the work of Slovene Communist Party members functioning within this council was discussed. It was as a result of strategy worked out at these meetings that the Communist Party was able to elect four of its members to the board of this council, and another seven of its members to the executive committee.

In Cleveland, Ohio, John Bostjancich and Anton Svelc and Jack Lencl are Communist Party members responsible for the work in this council.

Mr. OWENS. These meetings you spoke of as having attended, were these meetings held in the office of this Slovenian American National Council or in the office of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. They were held in the office of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. In Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. CVETIC. In Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. OWENS. In addition to these individuals whom you have identified as being present at these meetings and as being leaders in the Slovenian American Council, who else was in attendance at these meetings?

Mr. CVETIC. Gus Hall, the organizer for the Cleveland district for the Communist Party, who is presently acting secretary for the Communist Party U. S. A., conducted two or three of these meetings. Arnold Johnson, who was the State of Ohio director for the Communist Party and who is presently the head of the nationality commission of the Communist Party U. S. A., also participated in several of these meetings.

Mr. OWENS. Were these meetings called specifically to determine policy in this front organization, or were they general Communist Party meetings?

Mr. CVETIC. These meetings were called specifically to discuss policy in this council.

Mr. OWENS. As a Slovene representative of the nationality commission of the Communist Party U. S. A., you had made a trip from Pittsburgh to Cleveland to attend such meeting?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. That was your specific function in going to Cleveland?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. We will come back very shortly to Communist Party activities in this area, but for the time being I would like to clear up these fronts before we go into that.

In your previous appearances before this committee, you have explained in detail the Communist-controlled foreign-language newspapers published in Pittsburgh. The names of these papers, as you have testified, are: Narodni Glasnik, Slobodna Rec, and Ludovy Noviny. Are these publications circulated in the Ohio Valley area and in other cities of Ohio which we are discussing at this time?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do these publications maintain local offices in this area?

Mr. CVETIC. No.

Mr. OWENS. How is the distribution of these publications handled in this area?

Mr. CVETIC. The distribution is handled through committees which are designated readers of Narodni Glasnik, Slobodna Rec, and Ludovy Noviny.

Mr. OWENS. In other words, they are distributed through these committees. Who sets up these committees, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. These committees are set up by Communist Party organizers functioning out of 1916 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh, who make periodic tours of this area as well as other areas in the United States.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have any way of knowing the approximate circulation of these foreign-language newspapers in this area?

Mr. CVETIC. While I have no knowledge of the exact circulation, I understand from an authoritative source that their circulation has decreased over 50 percent since these newspapers were exposed as Communist-controlled newspapers by this committee.

Mr. OWENS. All the organizations that we have discussed so far are presently active in the Ohio Valley area; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. In addition to these organizations, do you have knowledge of any organizations which the Communist Party sponsored and directed, regardless of whether they are now in existence or not?

Mr. CVETIC. I can name at least five organizations.

Mr. OWENS. When you name these organizations, if you know the names of the local officers of any of them, please place them in the record at the same time.

Mr. CVETIC. I can name the following organizations which were directed by the nationality commission of the Communist Party and which are now defunct:

American Serbian War Orphans Relief;
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief;
United Committee South Slav Americans;
American Committee for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia;
American Soviet Friendship Council.

Mr. OWENS. From your personal experience and membership in the Communist Party, can you tell the committee the names of the individuals who headed the Communist Party in Ohio and the Ohio Valley area?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. For the State of Ohio, when I was active in the party, Arnold Johnson was the State director of the Communist Party, and Gus Hall was the organizer for the Cleveland area. Pete Margetich, who resides in Cleveland, Ohio, was responsible for the nationality work in the Cleveland and eastern Ohio areas. Ted Allen was the Communist Party organizer for the State of West Virginia.

Mr. OWENS. Have you met with all of these individuals in meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Will you tell the committee in what cities you met with these individuals and, if such meetings recall the names of others, will you also identify them?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended meetings with Gus Hall and Arnold Johnson in the cities of Cleveland, New York, and Pittsburgh. I attended meetings with Pete Margetich in Cleveland and Pittsburgh; and with Ted Allen in the cities of Pittsburgh and New York.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Cvetic, if you know, will you tell the committee in what cities in the Ohio Valley or in the State of Ohio there is functioning a Communist Party cell?

Mr. CVETIC. In Cleveland and Akron there are complete organizations functioning. In addition, there are Communist Party cells functioning in Youngstown, Steubenville, Weirton, Wheeling, East Liverpool, and Canton. These are the ones I have personal knowledge of.

Mr. OWENS. Do you also have any personal knowledge of individuals who head some of these Communist Party organizations?

Mr. CVETIC. Well, I have previously testified as to who heads these organizations on a State level.

Mr. OWENS. Yes; however, do you know other names of individuals in various cities who head Communist Party organizations within a given city, or area within a city?

Mr. CVETIC. I do not recall at the present time.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Cvetic, since your last appearance before this committee we have been engaged in some research regarding certain individuals in western Pennsylvania who, according to the files of this committee, were active at one time or another in the Communist Party movement. Our files reflect that some of these individuals have migrated to various sections of the country in pursuit of their Communist Party activities. At this time I should like to state, for the committee, that if you are not positive in your mind about the Communist affiliation of any of these individuals you should refrain from testifying regarding such affiliation.

Are you acquainted with an individual named Fred Yager?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Yager?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Fred Yager at a meeting of the Communist Party at 1916 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh. At the time I met, Fred Yager he was the manager of the American Slav Printing Co. at 1916 East Street. This printing establishment is controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know Fred Yager as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you know him to be a Communist Party member?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended Communist Party meetings with Fred Yager.

Mr. OWENS. On more than one occasion?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I might add that Fred Yager is a brother-in-law of Steve Nelson, district organizer of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania.

Mr. OWENS. In other words, Steve Nelson is married to the sister of Fred Yager; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; his sister Margaret.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where Fred Yager is presently employed?

Mr. CVETIC. I know he is a member of the printers' union.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Anna Burton?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you meet her?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Anna Burton, from California, Pa., at district committee meetings of the Communist Party which were held at the Knights of Pythias Hall in North Side, Pittsburgh, and also in the lecture-room of the North Side Carnegie Library. She was introduced to me as the leader of the Communist Party in California, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. How is it that the Communist Party was able to conduct meetings in the public library?

Mr. CVETIC. Through arrangements with the director of the library, Mr. Seibl.

Mr. OWENS. Who would make the approach to the director?

Mr. CVETIC. Usually the secretary of the Communist Party, Dave Grant, Bill Albertson, or Joe Godfrey.

Mr. OWENS. Did you ever run into any difficulty in trying to get the library to use as a meeting place?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know whether or not Mr. Seibl was a friend, either socially or professionally, of Dave Grant or Bill Albertson?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Did you ever know Mr. Seibl to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. When Dave Grant or Bill Albertson approached Mr. Seibl, did they tell him they wanted to use the library for Communist Party meetings?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Adam Getto?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Getto?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended several Communist Party meetings with Adam Getto. He was introduced to me as a Communist Party member in Washington County.

Mr. OWENS. Did you attend more than one Communist Party meeting with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Edward Young, known as Eddie Young?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. I am speaking of a Mr. Edward Young, known as Eddie Young, who lives at Blair Heights, Clairton, Pa. Is this the individual with whom you are acquainted?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with him?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Eddie Young at meetings of Communist Party functionaries in Pittsburgh. I know him to be a Communist Party organizer working in the steel area of Clairton, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Have you attended Communist Party meetings with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; on many occasions.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where Eddie Young is presently employed?

Mr. CVETIC. I understand he is employed at the Carnegie Steel Mill at Clairton, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Sam Mallov?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Sam Mallov?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Sam Mallov while I was a member of the Tom Paine Professional Branch of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. Sam Mallov was a member of the executive committee of this Communist Party branch.

Mr. OWENS. Is this the same Sam Mallov who was formerly employed by Westinghouse Electric Corp. and later by the United States Bureau of Mines?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Is he the same Sam Mallov who joined the Carnegie Tech faculty in 1945?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where Sam Mallov is presently employed?

Mr. CVETIC. My last contact with Sam Mallov was in 1948, and at that time he left Pittsburgh to go to Syracuse University.

Mr. OWENS. To accept a teaching position?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. And to your knowledge he is still there?

Mr. CVETIC. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know Charlotte Mallov?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. She is the wife of Sam Mallov and was also a member of the Tom Paine professional branch of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Cvetic, are you acquainted with an individual who in years past has worked for the United States Bureau of Mines as a sampler in Pittsburgh, whose name we have as Miller?

Mr. CVETIC. I know a Miller who did work at the United States Bureau of Mines in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know this individual as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Miller while attending Communist Party classes of the Tom Paine professional branch in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Was he attending these classes also?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Were there other people in attendance who were not Communists?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir. These classes were for Communist Party members. He not only attended these classes with me, but once also accused me of reporting to the FBI that he had attended these classes.

Mr. OWENS. To your knowledge, is he still employed by the Federal Government?

Mr. CVETIC. I haven't had any contact with Miller since about 1945, to the best of my knowledge. The way I recollect this, my association with Miller was while I was with the United States Employment Service, and I left there in December 1945 and do not recollect any contact with him since that time.

Mr. OWENS. In addition to attending these Communist classes, do you recall any other experiences that you have had with Miller while a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. On one occasion Miller took me on a tour through the United States Bureau of Mines, located on Forbes Street in Pittsburgh, and spent about 3 hours explaining to me the different methods of operation in the Bureau of Mines.

Mr. OWENS. Did Miller hold a seemingly responsible position at the Bureau of Mines?

Mr. CVETIC. At the time I met Miller, my opinion was that he had been working either as a sampler or tester or in some apprenticeship capacity.

Mr. OWENS. If you were to be shown a picture of Miller which our files disclose, could you identify him?

Mr. CVETIC. I am quite sure I could. Certainly I would have no difficulty recognizing the person, because I was personally associated with him. His first name is Sam. He is married, I know.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Steve Choleva?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him at Communist Party meetings. At the time I met Steve I was told he was active in the youth movement of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Mary Zampan?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I have met Mary Zampan.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mary Zampan?

Mr. CVETIC. I met her in Communist Party functionary meetings and was introduced to her as a member of the Communist Party in Washington County. She resides in Strabane, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named John Derkach?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir, but that is a very common Slovak name.

Mr. OWENS. Will you identify as best you can the John Derkach that you are acquainted with?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The John Derkach I refer to is a former organizer in the Slovak section of the International Workers Order and he resided in South Side Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. I first met John Derkach in the office of the United States Employment Service, where he was sent to me by Sidney Horwitz as one of our Communist Party members. Later, I attended Communist Party meetings with John Derkach.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Victor Steinhart?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Victor Steinhart?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Victor Steinhart while I was a member of the organizational educational committee of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania. He was introduced to me as a member of the Communist Party, and I attended many Communist Party meetings with Victor Steinhart while he was in Pittsburgh, from approximately June 1947 until the summer of 1948.

Mr. OWENS. What was Mr. Steinhart's employment in Pittsburgh, if you recall?

Mr. CVETIC. While he was in Pittsburgh he was employed by the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh in the technical department.

Mr. OWENS. Did you meet with him on more than one occasion as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. I met with Victor Steinhart on many occasions in the office of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. Since I was a member of the organizational educational committee of the Communist Party, I was instrumental in assigning Victor Steinhart as

literature director for the Communist Party for the east end and professional branches of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Is Mr. Steinhart currently in Pittsburgh, Pa.?

Mr. CVETIC. No. He is presently residing in Ithaca, N. Y.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know what his present occupation is in Ithaca?

Mr. CVETIC. I understand he is employed as librarian in the department of physics at Cornell University.¹

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Mrs. Victor Steinhart?

Mr. CVETIC. I am acquainted with Mrs. Victor Steinhart, whom I also knew as Lee.

Mr. OWENS. As Lee Steinhart?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Did you meet with her as a member of the Communist Party on more than one occasion?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Was Mrs. Steinhart active in the same fields of Communist activity as you have just described for her husband?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Will you explain what you know of her Communist activity?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended Communist Party meetings with Mrs. Steinhart. She was actively helping her husband in the distribution of literature and helping in youth activities in the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Is she presently in Ithaca with her husband?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Is she employed, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. I do not know her present employment status, but I understand she was an American Labor Party candidate for mayor in Ithaca recently.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Brinley True?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. True?

Mr. CVETIC. In the professional branch of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a member of that branch?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Sadie True?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. She is the wife of Brinley True and a sister of Ann Lipkind, and a former member of the professional branch of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Fred Gerlach and his wife, Carol Fijan Gerlach?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Gerlach?

Mr. CVETIC. I met them in New York City. They were introduced to me as being youth organizers for the Communist Party in that city.

¹ Since this testimony was given, Mr. Steinhart was discharged by Cornell University, according to newspaper reports.

Mr. OWENS. Youth organizers for the Communist Party in New York?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not Fred Gerlach is related to Tony Gerlach?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. That is his father.

Mr. OWENS. Tony is Fred's father?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. At the time I was acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Gerlach, Mrs. Gerlach was employed as the youth director of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. OWENS. In New York?

Mr. CVETIC. In New York City.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Ludwig Mutz?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him at meetings of the Slovene branch of the Communist Party in New York City.

Mr. OWENS. Did you meet him on more than one occasion?

Mr. CVETIC. On several occasions.

Mr. OWENS. On several occasions in New York City?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. I think for the record, although it appears many times in your previous testimony, I had better establish some dates here. These meetings that you are describing now as having attended with these individuals I am asking you about all occurred during what years?

Mr. CVETIC. During the period between February 1943 and February 1950, while I was employed as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and reporting on Communist Party activities.

Mr. OWENS. I have a few more names here, Mr. Cvetic, I want to ask you about.

Are you acquainted with an individual named Rev. Strahinja Maletich?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Our files reflect that Reverend Maletich was sent back to Yugoslavia. Is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know this individual as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. I knew this individual as a member of the Communist Party and also an agent of the Yugoslav secret police.

Mr. OWENS. Our files disclose that this individual has returned to Yugoslavia for disciplinary reasons. Do you know any of the circumstances surrounding this situation?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Would you tell the committee about it, please?

Mr. CVETIC. This individual was responsible for the work of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans. The principal activity of this committee was to build a Tito myth in the United States and to gain support for the Communist-controlled government in Yugoslavia. This individual committed, in the eyes of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia, a serious personal error in his personal relations, and this error was responsible for the loss of some prominent

Americans of Yugoslav descent in America. Because of this, he was returned to Yugoslavia for disciplinary action.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Phil Bart?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. You were in the hearing room yesterday morning when a Mr. Phil Bart testified before this committee, were you not?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I was here as a spectator.

Mr. OWENS. Was that the same Mr. Phil Bart you are acquainted with?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Bart?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Phil Bart in the Communist Party offices in Pittsburgh and in Philadelphia.

Mr. OWENS. What was Mr. Bart doing in Pittsburgh in the offices of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Usually he would come to Pittsburgh for the purpose of coordinating Communist Party activities between the eastern and western districts of Pennsylvania. His trips to Pittsburgh would occur during Communist Party line changes and also when the Communist Party was active in organizing delegations protesting legislative action in Harrisburg or Washington.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know of your own personal knowledge of any international activities of Mr. Bart?

Mr. CVETIC. I cannot recall at present.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know whether or not he ever left the confines of the United States?

Mr. CVETIC. I do not recollect at the present time.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Pauline Klopicka Pirinsky?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with her?

Mr. CVETIC. I met her at meetings of the American Slav Congress and also of the Nationality Commission of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Is she the current wife of George Pirinsky?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. This is George Pirinsky's second wife?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. OWENS. He was married first to Mary Pridhoff Pirinsky?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. OWENS. Our files reflect alleged Communist Party activity on the part of James McCoy in Pittsburgh. Are you acquainted with a James McCoy in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I know a James McCoy from the Hill district of Pittsburgh who was membership director for the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. How did you know this?

Mr. CVETIC. Because I have attended many Communist Party functionary meetings with James McCoy.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where he is presently employed?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How old a man would you say he is?

Mr. CVETIC. In the middle or late thirties.

58/1

Mr. OWENS. Is he married?

Mr. CVETIC. I can't say.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Emil Sardoch?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with him?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Emil Sardoch at meetings of UE No. 601 branch of the Communist Party in East Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Did you meet with him on more than one occasion?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. The same branch?

Mr. CVETIC. In the branch and also on the district level.

Mr. OWENS. You say you met with him on the district level. Was he a branch officer of some sort?

Mr. CVETIC. When I met him he was chairman of UE 601 branch of the Communist Party in East Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where he is presently employed?

Mr. CVETIC. I understand he is employed at the Westinghouse Electric plant in East Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with David Lurie?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Lurie?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him as a member of the professional branch of the Communist Party, East Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Did you see him more than once?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Was he introduced to you as a Communist Party member?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; he was introduced to me as a Communist Party member and as editor of the Daily Worker, a Communist newspaper.

Mr. OWENS. By editor do you mean a contributing editor, or did he hold a paid position?

Mr. CVETIC. He was introduced to me as editor of the Daily Worker and also a writer.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Peter Vranesevich?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Vranesevich?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him at meetings of the Communist Party in the Allegheny Valley district.

Mr. OWENS. Did he hold any official position in the Communist Party in that district?

Mr. CVETIC. I know him as a Communist Party member active in the nationality field.

Mr. OWENS. Did you say he was active in the Allegheny district?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Where did he live, if you recall?

Mr. CVETIC. At New Kensington, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual known as Joseph Sadecky?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Sadecky?

Mr. CVETIC. I met Mr. Sadecky at meetings of Communist Party functionaries. He was the Allegheny organizer for the Communist Party and lived at Creighton, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Zora Trbovich Susnjar?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Is she the wife of an individual you have identified as a member of the Communist Party named Mane Susnjar?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mrs. Susnjar?

Mr. CVETIC. I met her at meetings of the Communist Party. She was a member of the party active in the Serbian section of the Communist Party. At the time I met her she was employed at 1916 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Marijana Kosich?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. I met her at Communist Party meetings in the office of the Slobodna Rec at 1916 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh. She is the wife of Drago Kosich, whom I have previously identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Is she presently employed by Slobodna Rec?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Mrs. Anna Salzman?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mrs. Salzman?

Mr. CVETIC. I met her in the professional branch of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh while I was a member of that branch. While she was in Pittsburgh she was employed as a secretary-stenographer at the National Maritime Union office in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Is she still in Pittsburgh to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where she went?

Mr. CVETIC. I understand she and her husband left the city, and her present location I do not know.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know an individual named Rodney Edward Goforth?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Goforth?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him in meetings of Communist Party functionaries in Pittsburgh. He was introduced to me as a leader in the Young Communist League in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. What is his employment, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. Recently he was employed as a stationary engineer and was a member of the MEBA union in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. I am not familiar with the full title of that union. To your knowledge, what do those letters stand for?

Mr. CVETIC. They designate the Marine Engineers Benevolent Association.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named George Kusich, K-u-s-i-c-h, sometimes spelled K-u-s-i-c?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Which is the correct spelling, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. K-u-s-i-c-h.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Kusich?

Mr. CVETIC. While I was employed by the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief in Pittsburgh, he was introduced to me as the executive secretary of the same organization from Detroit, Mich. During my associations with him, I attended several meetings of the Nationality Commission of the Communist Party with him. He mentioned to me that he was active as a Communist Party organizer in union activities in Detroit and New York prior to working for the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief. Presently he is in New York City, where I understand he is organizing for the Communist Party in some union.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Sam Nicolauk?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him at meetings of the Nationality Commission of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a representative from Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. No. He is a representative from New York City and is an official and an organizer for the American-Russian Fraternal Society, a section of the International Workers Order.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Bob Liner?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Liner?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him at meetings of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know his present occupation?

Mr. CVETIC. While he was in Pittsburgh he was employed as a jeweler and a watchmaker.

Mr. OWENS. Is he still in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. Presently I understand he is in New York City.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Fedora Liner?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Is she the wife of Bob Liner?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with her?

Mr. CVETIC. She was an active member of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, and I met her in Communist Party meetings.

Mr. OWENS. Was she employed while in the city of Pittsburgh, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Pettis Perry?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. In meetings of Communist Party functionaries in Pittsburgh.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a Pittsburgh representative at these meetings?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir. He was introduced to me as the national director of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. OWENS. Where are his headquarters, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. In New York City.

Mr. OWENS. Does he still hold that position, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. To the best of my knowledge; yes.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named N. J. Nicolac?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with Mr. Nicolac?

Mr. CVETIC. I met him at 1916 East Street, where he was attending meetings of the Croatian Bureau of the Communist Party USA.

Mr. OWENS. Was he also a member of the Croatian Fraternal Union, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a member of the Communist section that took over that organization in September 1947?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have any knowledge of the Communist Party's part in this move which succeeded in taking over this fraternal organization?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; because I participated in some of the meetings of the Nationality Commission where this activity was discussed.

Mr. OWENS. Was Mr. Nicolac present?

Mr. CVETIC. As some of the meetings.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where Mr. Nicolac is employed?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. CVETIC. Mountain View, Calif.

Mr. OWENS. In other words, Mr. Nicolac is a representative of the Croatian Branch of the Communist Party from the west coast?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct, and he would make periodic visits to western Pennsylvania to meet with Communist Party officials there including Leo Fisher, Tony Minerich, Steve Nelson, and Arnold Johnson.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Matt Goreta?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with him?

Mr. CVETIC. Participating in meetings of the Croatian Bureau of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a member of the Croatian Fraternal Union?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a member of the Communist bloc that took over that organization in September 1947?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have knowledge if he is a trustee from River Rouge, Mich., of the Croatian Fraternal Union?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; he is.

Mr. OWENS. That is the same Matt Goreta that you have mentioned as a member of the Croatian Branch of the Nationality Commission of the Communist Party? Yes; I understand that he is now an organizer for the United Automobile Workers in Detroit.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Did you meet with him as a member of the Communist Party on more than one occasion?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with Matt Brzevich?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. Participating in meetings of the Croatian Bureau of the Communist Party.

Mr. OWENS. Was he a member of the Croatian Fraternal Union?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. And was he likewise a member of the Communist bloc that took control of that organization in September 1947?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Did you attend Communist meetings with him on more than one occasion?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where he is presently employed?

Mr. CVETIC. No, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know where he presently resides?

Mr. CVETIC. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. OWENS. He likewise is another district representative to the Croatian branch of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. These last three individuals who have been identified as representatives from other localities to the Croatian branch of the nationality commission of the Communist Party, I would like to ask you whether or not you have ever attended Communist Party meetings with them in any other cities in the United States, other than Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Where?

Mr. CVETIC. Cleveland and New York, and possibly Chicago and Detroit.

Mr. OWENS. Are you acquainted with an individual named Sergej Makiedo?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. How did you become acquainted with this individual?

Mr. CVETIC. I originally met him at meetings sponsored by the American Slav Congress. Later I met in small caucuses of Communist Party members in which he participated as a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Mr. OWENS. In other words, you definitely knew this individual as a member of the Communist Party from Yugoslavia?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. At the time you were meeting with him, what was his position, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. I know he was attached to the staff of the Yugoslav Embassy. His exact capacity I do not recollect.

Mr. OWENS. Were these meetings prior to the so-called Tito-Stalin break in 1948?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWENS. Do you have any knowledge as to his present whereabouts?

Mr. CVETIC. No; not to the best of my recollection.

Mr. OWENS. On how many occasions do you recollect that you met with him as a Communist?

Mr. CVETIC. Four or five.

Mr. OWENS. Where were these meetings?

Mr. CVETIC. Pittsburgh and New York and possibly in Washington.

Mr. OWENS. In addition to Mr. Makiedo at the Yugoslav Embassy, did you know as a result of personal acquaintances any other Communists who were assigned to the Embassy here in Washington?

Mr. CVETIC. I have already testified that Dr. Slavko Zore from the Yugoslav Embassy staff was a member of the Communist Party, as was Pero Dragila, who was also on the Embassy staff. In addition, I knew that Dr. Neubaur, whose first name I do not recollect, who headed the Yugoslav Red Cross Mission in this country in 1945 or 1946, was a member of the Yugoslav Secret Police.

Mr. OWENS. How did you know this, Mr. Cvetic?

Mr. CVETIC. Because he so stated to me.

Mr. OWENS. Did he tell you anything else about his activities in this country?

Mr. CVETIC. Not only Dr. Neubaur, but the other members of the Yugoslav party with whom I was associated, told me their principal activities here were to build good will for the new Communist Party government in Yugoslavia.

Mr. OWENS. This Red Cross delegation, were they sincere in their efforts to help the international organization of the Red Cross, or do you know?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I do know. Most of their activities were directed more toward Communist propaganda channels rather than raising funds for the Red Cross.

Mr. OWENS. Did they so state to you?

Mr. CVETIC. I have met with these people on many occasions. At these meetings we would discuss our work as Communists and often-times stressed the importance of working as Communists rather than as relief workers or as Yugoslavs or Americans.

Mr. OWENS. Do you recall the names of the other members of this Red Cross delegation?

Mr. CVETIC. I submitted these names to the FBI. I do not recollect their names at the present.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter in the record at this point the organizational set-up of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, as compiled by Mr. Cvetic.

Mr. WALTER. It will be so incorporated in the record at this point.

(The organizational set-up above referred to is as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

District Bureau of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania:

Steve Nelson, district organizer;

William Albertson, district secretary (recently transferred to Detroit, Mich.);

Ben Careathers, Negro organizer;

Gabor Kish, Jr., organizer for the coal district (left town on secret mission);

Leo Fisher, head of the nationality groups.

District Committee of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania :

Steve Nelson, district organizer;
 William Albertson, district secretary (recently transferred to Detroit, Mich.) ;
 Gabor Kish, Jr., coal mining (left town on secret mission) ;
 Benjamin Careathers, Negro organizer ;
 Eleanor Sackter, steel organizer ;
 Thomas Fitzpatrick, electric organizer ;
 Andrew Onda, steel organizer ;
 Leo Fisher, head of nationality groups ;
 Sam Reed, electric organizer for Erie ;
 Tony Lepovich, organizer in coal area of Washington County ;
 Tony Salopek, organizer at Carnegie-Illinois Steel, Duquesne, Pa.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions at this time.

Mr. WALTER. Very well. Thank you very much, Mr. Cvetic.

(Thereupon, at 1:15 p. m. on Thursday, June 22, 1950, the hearing was adjourned.)

EXPOSÉ OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA—PART 3, BASED UPON TESTIMONY
OF MATTHEW CVETIC AND DOCUMENTS OF COMMUNIST
PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

A Subcommittee of One of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 11:25 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee member present: Representative John S. Wood.

Staff members present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. You may proceed, Mr. Russell.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, you have previously been sworn as a witness?

Mr. CVETIC. I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I have here copies of various documents which were obtained under subpoena from Judge Michael A. Musmanno, and which were secured by detectives of the Pittsburgh Police Department from Communist Party headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pa., under the provisions of a search warrant issued by Judge A. Marshall Thompson. Do you know the names of the detectives who secured these documents from the Communist Party headquarters under the provisions of the search warrant previously mentioned?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Their names are Joseph Becker and George Marshall.

Mr. RUSSELL. I show you a photostatic copy of a document entitled "Report to National Committee Conference—July 13, 1950," which is attached to a covering letter from the Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y., dated August 1, 1950, addressed "To All Districts." I ask you if you are familiar with this document and whether to the best of your knowledge it was one of the documents obtained by the Pittsburgh Police Department at the time the search warrant was executed?

Mr. CVETIC. I am familiar with this document as I accompanied the city detectives on the search at the Communist Party headquarters,

which are located on the fourth floor of the Bakewell Building in the city of Pittsburgh. These documents were secured from the desk of Steve Nelson, who is the district organizer for the western Pennsylvania district of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, are you familiar with the contents of this document?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. What, in your opinion, is the purpose of this document?

Mr. CVETIC. The purpose of the document is to organize the Communist Party in the United States for agitational and propaganda activity against the United States Government. The document does state in part its hopes and wishes that the American forces fighting in South Korea take a shellacking. It also contains a program of action for the American Communist Party to carry out in their efforts to sabotage the war effort of the United States and United Nations in Korea.

The document is a directive to all districts, and from my work within the Communist Party for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I have found that most of the directives of this nature were discussed at the district committee meetings, Communist Party functionary meetings, and carried down to the Communist Party branches and to the Communist-front organizations, and that leaflets and pamphlets carrying the party line contained in such reports were distributed through mass organizations at shop gates and wherever the Communist Party was able to conduct activity.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced into the record at this hearing as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 82," and I ask that it be incorporated in the transcript of this hearing.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 82," is as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.,
NATIONAL OFFICE,
New York, N. Y., August 1, 1950.

To All Districts:

DEAR COMRADES: We are sending you several copies of Comrade Gus Hall's report to the national committee meeting on July 13. This report, of course, outlines the central tasks confronting our party and the working class of our country in the struggle for peace in the light of the new situation, and should serve as a guide to the development of the activities in your area.

In addition, however, we want to urge that you consider using this report:

1. In the organization of functionaries meetings, if you have not as yet done so, with the aim of reaching the activists not alone of the clubs but all phases of mass work, especially our shop and trade-union forces.
2. Selecting sections of the report for club discussions.
3. In all classes and schools that are being held in your State during the coming months.

Comradely,

NATIONAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

REPORT TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE, JULY 13, 1950

Comrades, I want to call your attention to the statement of the party in this morning's Daily Worker on the immediate danger of the use of the atomic bomb in Korea.

The reason I call this to your attention is that upon the conclusion of this session you should call your districts to start working on this question immediately on an emergency basis. We must organize the broadest movement of

protest directed to Lie and the UN, and, of course, to President Truman and Acheson, without a moment's delay.

This statement was not just issued for agitational purposes. The problem is as serious as we present it, and the danger of the use of the atom bomb is as great as we place it. Therefore there must be an immediate reaction in all parts of the country.

* * * * *

This conference must deal with a number of new political and tactical problems arising from the new world situation. This new situation emerged when United States imperialism moved from one stage in its imperialist drive—from the stage of intensive war preparations, from the stage of the Truman-Marshall plan of supplying arms and setting up puppet governments—to the stage of *open military aggression*. This policy of open military aggression is not limited to Korea, and we must under no circumstances consider this a "Korean incident." Nor is this military aggression limited to Asia. What we must fully understand is that military aggression is now a key peg in United States foreign policy, and that this policy will be pursued not only in Korea and Asia but throughout the world. Wherever peoples fight for freedom, wherever national liberation struggles take place, and wherever the working class moves forward to achieve socialism, United States Armed Forces will be used against the people. This is going to be true for every part of the world.

I want to impress upon you this important new fact, *that United States foreign policy and the whole Wall Street drive for world domination has moved into a new stage characterized by open military intervention in the internal affairs of other peoples and nations*. The Armed Forces of the United States are going to be deployed in the name of the American people, in the name of peace and democracy, to crush the cause of freedom throughout the world.

The speed with which developments will take place is indicated by the events of the past 2 weeks, since the announcement of Truman of this new stage of imperialist aggression. During these 2 weeks we already have the following developments:

First, as we all know, there is a full-scale war against the Korean Democratic People's Republic, against the people of all Korea; second, the sending of the Seventh Fleet to Formosa is a direct act of aggression against China; third, the declaration of a policy of military aggression against Viet-Nam, the Philippines, and Indochina; fourth, the United States has completed the destruction of the United Nations as an instrument for peace and has turned it into a smokescreen for its own aggressive purposes; fifth, the United States has scrapped and destroyed all the remaining treaties signed as a result of the Second World War.

This was done in just 2 weeks, showing the speed with which things are moving and what we can expect further.

We must also take note of the tremendous steps Wall Street has been able to take toward the fascization of our country during these 2 weeks. There is no question that they will use this period for speeding up the further destruction of democratic rights in the country.

Of course, during these 2 weeks, many other things have taken place. For one, American imperialism has exposed itself more than during the last 5 years. Millions in every corner of the world now see the naked aggressive character of United States imperialism. Hatred of the United States has grown tremendously in every part of the world. The feeling of hatred evoked among the world's people, because of Hitler Germany, toward everything German during the Second World War, is now turned into hatred against everything American because of the enslaving role of Wall Street. The way in which the Korean people are fighting for independence against American intervention is a glorious page in the history of national liberation struggles. There are no words to describe the indomitable courage, the high fighting morale, the powerful unity, and resolute leadership of this long-oppressed people, who are dealing such powerful blows against the forces of the greatest capitalist power on earth.

This new turn of events in the world did not come as a surprise to our party, for we long ago warned of the dangers of military adventures on the part of United States imperialism. But I must say that the speed with which this took place was somewhat of a surprise to certain comrades, especially to sections of the progressive movement and the peace camp in our country, who did not take seriously the warnings of the party on the new speed and tempo in the drive of United States imperialism toward war.

The reason these developments were not a surprise to the party as a whole was the fact that under the able leadership of Comrades Foster and Dennis, our

party correctly analyzed the role of American imperialism as far back as the 1945 convention. We showed that as long as the United States pursued a foreign policy of world domination, such a policy would inevitably lead to Korea, and other similar attacks. This aggressive policy of Wall Street and its administration was determined even prior to the founding convention of the United Nations. Had our analysis of this course of American imperialism been grasped by the peace-loving people in the country, the present intervention in Korea would be more readily understood. For, the decision to provoke war in Korea was made not just 2 weeks ago. It was planned long in advance. The fact is that the London Conference of Foreign Ministers had the purpose of mobilizing and bringing into line the junior partners of Wall Street for the carrying through of such criminal provocations against the people of Asia.

We must make the point that if it had not been Korea, the war provocation would have exploded at another point. The policy of United States imperialism has been for a long time a policy of provoking conflicts in one place after another. This is the only way to explain the "visit" of the naval fleet 2 or 3 months ago to Viet-Nam, the manner in which the United States tried to create incidents there in order to provide the pretext for aggression. This is the only way to explain the armed aid to Chiang Kai-shek, the armaments sent to the French and Dutch against the liberation struggles in Indonesia and Indochina, the establishment of 500 war bases throughout the world. The meeting of Dulles, Johnson, and Bradley with MacArthur in Tokyo was not a meeting to make the first decision on Korea, but to check up on the plans that already had been formulated, and to fix the date for the provocation.

It is not necessary here to emphasize certain questions. But it is necessary continually to explain and emphasize to the American people a whole number of basic questions. We must continually emphasize and show that the war in Korea is an unjust war, a war of aggression, an imperialist war. We must hammer home this basic fact. Numerous instances can be cited to show that there is not full understanding of the need to clarify this fundamental question. For instance, at a meeting last night of a left-progressive union, a leading trade unionist started off his speech with the following: "I don't know if the North invaded the South or the South invaded the North. All I know is there is a war." That was the theme of his remarks. In studying the leaflets issued by the party—and I must say that many have been issued, which is a very good thing—we do not explain the unjust imperialist character of the war in Korea. It is necessary to show that this is a war of the monopolists for oil, coal, rubber, tin, magnesium, and cheap slave labor. We must explain this in the most concrete manner, showing which monopolies and corporations have control of the rich natural resources in country after country, not only in Korea, but throughout the world.

* * * * *

I want to spend some time now on certain specific questions arising from the present situation which requires emphasis.

First, the question that keeps coming up continually: Is the war in Korea the beginning of the third world war? This question is raised not only among the people generally, but also within our own ranks. We should not oversimplify the answer to this question. A simple "No" cannot be our answer. What we must say is: The war in Korea *does not have to be* the beginning of a new world war, for the world peace forces are strong enough to halt this unjust war of United States imperialism. And here we must state that the answer depends in the first place on what the American people do. This in no way negates the fact that world war has so far been prevented because of the fight for peace of the Soviet Union, of the new people's democracies in Europe, of China. What it does emphasize is that it is United States imperialism which is driving toward world war, which is waging aggressive war *now* in Korea, and hence it is the American people, and in the first place the working class, that have the responsibility for calling their own imperialist ruling class to account and demand a halt to the unjust war it is waging.

But this is only one-half of the answer. For unless the American people act, and act now, we may one day look back and say, "Yes, that as with Austria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia or Spain in relation to World War II, Korea was the fateful first act of World War III."

Generally, it is our feeling that there are only a few possible alternatives as regards future developments concerning Korea.

First, the attack on the Korean people may develop into a new world war, into an atomic world war. That danger exists and we should understand the

full seriousness of the danger. For it is difficult to isolate what is developing in Korea. The fact that the atom bomb may be used against the Korean people only emphasizes this threat of atomic world war. We should not try to minimize or hide the vastly increased danger of world war, but bring it sharply to the people.

The second possible development is a period of protracted costly creeping undeclared war, first of all in Asia and then in many other parts of the world. It may very well be that such a "one at a time" policy, a policy of opening fire in one area after another, is Wall Street's strategy at this particular stage. We must remember that this was the policy followed by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis in the beginning stages of the Second World War. Hence, the possibility that the United States may be engaged in open military aggression not in just one country, but in a series of countries without a declaration of war. And I need not say at this gathering that such a course would be a costly one for the American people in every way—not only in terms of lives lost, but in every sense. It would draw on the resources of the United States and impoverish the masses of our people as no other war has ever done.

A third possibility is that Wall Street may be forced into a temporary retreat in Korea. Such a retreat may be forced on it because of the stiff resistance and set-backs it encounters militarily in Korea and elsewhere, and because of the continued growth of the world-peace movement. Such a possibility can become a reality, especially if we help bring into being a more militant peace movement in the United States.

The fourth and final possibility is not so much an alternative possibility of developments around Korea. It is the basic aim for which we are striving in our struggle against the war course of the economic royalists. Our aim is to work not merely for a retreat on the part of United States imperialism, but to strive for a basic change in the foreign policy of the United States, to work for a policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, China, etc., and that requires the mobilizing of the broadest democratic coalition, powerful enough to defeat the present course of American imperialism, and bring into being a people's front government dedicated to fulfilling the peace aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people.

That, it is true, represents longer-range perspectives. But what we have to realize is that, under present conditions, if, by the mobilizing of the people, we can force even a temporary retreat upon Wall Street, that retreat may very possibly turn into a rout which would create the conditions for effecting basic changes in American foreign policy.

And here just a few additional thoughts on the role of the American people. I think even in our own party, there is too much speculation of what will be the effect of a victory or defeat for United States imperialism in Korea. Let me indicate what I think the facts could be. If the American forces are successful in Korea, that would encourage Wall Street to move forward in many parts of Asia and spread the war. If the American forces get a shellacking, while it would increase the desperation in Wall Street and Washington, it would encourage the peace forces of our country and the world, and make it more difficult for Wall Street to unleash new adventures.

The only real way America can get out of this mess is a change in foreign policy, which means either a temporary retreat forced by the people, or a more basic change in government, which again can only be accomplished by the American people themselves. The Korean people cannot change this policy. It will be done only by the growth of the peace movement, and the democratic forces in this country. That we must fully understand ourselves and hammer home to the American people.

Now the second question: If the Wall Street objective in Korea was not the launching of an immediate third world war, what are the immediate objectives of Wall Street? These are:

1. To crush the national liberation movements in Asia, completely to take over the resources of oil, tin, rubber and, of course, cheap slave labor in the colonies.
2. To speed up the signing of a separate peace treaty with Japan and transforming Japan into a military base; an objective that Wall Street must achieve in order to create the basis for a further expansion and launching of the third world war.
3. To freeze out China and the Soviet Union from the United Nations.
4. To counteract the world-peace movement, especially the growing peace movement in America. The statement of Acheson only indicates how serious they consider the peace petition and the whole growth of the peace movement.

5. To side-step the developing economic crisis.
6. To take further measures to speed up the fascization of America.
7. Finally, to use this entire development generally to speed up the preparations for world war.

When we say these were the immediate objectives of Wall Street in the Korean war, we, of course, must add that they knew it might unleash the Third World War, but they were willing to risk that possibility. It is important for us to understand this since it indicates the level of preparations for world war.

We must ask ourselves: Can United States imperialism achieve these immediate objectives? I think, despite the headlines, we can safely say that United States imperialism will not achieve these objectives. It will fail in every one of them. It will have to either retreat or suffer complete bankruptcy. I will discuss that a little later.

If Wall Street was not ready to launch a world war at this time, why did they pick Korea, and why at this particular moment? It is important for us to understand this question. Clearly there are many developments that Wall Street cannot control, that are beyond its ability to influence. First among these is the growing bankruptcy of United States foreign policy. That is a decisive question explaining why they moved in the Pacific. United States foreign policy is suffering blows at the hands of the rising liberation movements in Asia and the Pacific; in the defeat of their puppets, in the first place, of course, in China; but also in Korea, Viet Nam and in a whole series of countries.

But not only in Asia. While Wall Street took this moment to provoke war in Korea, we must not overlook the difficulties it is having in Europe. The repeated governmental crises in France are symbolic of these difficulties. Above all, the continued growth of the peace movement, and the fact that no matter what is done, United States imperialism has not been able to destroy the influence of the Communist Parties in Europe, especially in countries like France and Italy. All these are evidences of the bankruptcy of United States foreign policy.

But not United States imperialism alone faces difficulties in achieving its objectives. Great Britain and France face similar difficulties. It is estimated that Great Britain loses on an average of 5,000 men a year in casualties in Malaya alone, and France loses over 3,000 men in Viet Nam. Their resources in finances and manpower are reaching the bottom. This further creates the feeling of desperation in Wall Street and in the whole capitalist world.

This explains the provocation, and why Korea was one of the spots selected, in addition to the fact that Korea happens to be one of the most important bases on the mainland for an attack on China and the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

We must persistently and clearly answer questions in the minds of the American people. They are asking questions about everything that takes place. If you read the columnists in the newspapers you will note that is exactly what they are doing. They have never before taken such concrete questions and attempted to answer them as they are compelled to do now.

Let us indicate the kind of questions we must answer in a clear-cut manner, to which, by the way, there are no easy answers. I think there is too much of a tendency to find simple answers, to pick the answers out of our pockets without backing them up by facts. For instance, let's take a look at one of Lippmann's questions. To prove that United States imperialism is not the aggressor in Korea he argues: How can we be the aggressors when we were surprised; how can one say we were prepared for aggression if it is clear we are outnumbered, out-gunned, and everything else? We have to deal with these questions because this kind of line has a very definite effect on the thinking of the American people.

We have to deal with this question somewhat in the following way: Yes, the imperialists were taken by surprise and were not prepared at what developed in Korea. They were ready to provoke aggression with the South Koreans to do the fighting—the 100,000 troops they had trained. They were prepared for a war in which they took for granted that the North Koreans would give up as soon as the American tanks and guns appeared on the scene. But the exact opposite occurred. They were not prepared—and hence surprised—for a situation where the South Koreans refused to fight against their own brothers. They were very much surprised at the resistance of the Koreans generally to their aggression. For this they were unprepared. They were unprepared to counter the sweep of the national liberation movement, the great heroism and courage of a people fighting for liberation, against colonial enslavement.

We too must fully understand that the colonial liberation movements of today are far different than they were 20 or 30 years ago, and the difference arises out of the important experiences they have accumulated in these years. We cannot overestimate the influence the generations of armed struggle of the Chinese people had on the whole colonial people. This experience is not limited to China alone, but has had tremendous influence on the whole colonial liberation movement. Korea is showing what the colonial people have learned from that experience. I think, also, we do not fully appreciate the influence the continued growth and strengthening of the Soviet Union has had upon the colonial masses. The victorious Socialist revolution in Russia had a decisive influence on the development of the colonial liberation movements. And the moral leadership of the Soviet Union has been tremendously expanded with the successful building of socialism, the role it played in defeating fascism and Japanese militarism, and its foremost championing of the sovereign rights and equality of all peoples. Furthermore, in the colonies today there are literally millions of people who themselves have experienced years and years of armed struggle against their colonial oppressors and national traitors. They know why they fight. They know how to fight.

This American imperialism did not expect. That is the explanation why its plans miscalculated; why Wall Street was surprised. We should understand that not only in Korea, but in every other place that American forces are sent, they will meet up with this type of resistance. Therefore, every victory or defeat by the American forces will exact a heavy price.

The next question around which there still seems to be some confusion, is: Do we still view the struggle for peace as the very center of our work; and is the peaceful coexistence of the two systems a major point in our program and outlook?

We must make clear that the struggle for peace, as understood by Marxists, does not mean accepting the status quo in the world, does not mean accepting colonial bondage, does not mean postponing the struggle for socialism. That was never our concept of the struggle for peace, nor can this be the concept of Marxists. For, such a concept would mean buying peace by accepting slavery, and that cannot be the outlook for Communists.

The fact is that peace can be maintained only if social progress advances, only if people have the right to determine their own destiny. There can be no peace in any other way.

Among the people, we must drive home the undeniable fact that liberated peoples are the greatest force for peace in the world; that the liberation of Asia from imperialist domination is the firmest basis for peace in Asia. In our own party we must deepen further the understanding of our members that we do not take a neutral position to struggles of national liberation, nor, of course, to the struggle for socialism. Our policy of peace arises out of this basic understanding.

Another question that comes up in our own midst, which is somewhat surprising, is the question: Why didn't the Soviet Union go back into the Security Council and use its veto power in the Korean situation? This question reflects a lack of understanding of the manner in which the United States conspired against the United Nations, from the very first day, with the whole idea of freezing out the Soviet Union, and now China. Here, too, is a lack of understanding of the role of the new China and the meaning of the Chinese revolution. To accept the Nationalist representatives as official delegates in the United Nations means to accept and give support to United States imperialist policy of keeping out the only true representatives of the Chinese people—the representatives of the Republic of China.

How could the Soviet Union have any other position under these circumstances than to expose United States machinations to freeze out China and thereby maintain its stranglehold on the Security Council? Could the Soviet Union sit in a Council illegally constituted, and assume responsibility for its actions?

We must understand that the principled position of the Soviet Union, based on support of the right of people to determine their own destiny, is vitally involved in the fight to win diplomatic recognition of People's China. This fight will have to be made again and again as other nations gain independence, achieve self-determination. We must understand that this was the only policy the Soviet Union could pursue, that it is a principled policy which alone can rally the forces of peace and progress. We must say that the issue of seating China in the United Nations is a decisive issue at this moment, which we did not

sufficiently appreciate. The action of the Soviet Union has exposed the policies of United States imperialism and focuses the attention of the whole world on the problem of bringing the rightful representatives of the Chinese people into the United Nations. This in itself is a victory in the fight for peace.

Some ask the question: Why didn't the North Korean troops return to the thirty-eighth parallel line? The very placing of this question shows serious weaknesses in our thinking. First of all, it reflects a lack of understanding of the character of the provocation perpetrated in Korea. It seems to reflect the influence of the commercial press that perhaps it really was the North Koreans who provoked the present situation. But the facts prove otherwise.

The facts are that the United States conspired through its Syngman (sic) Rhee puppet regime to eliminate the thirty-eighth parallel by force, and thus bring all of Korea under its domination. The attack on the Korean People's Democratic Republic by the American-trained Rhee troops was a full-scale attack to achieve this nefarious plan. To speak of returning to the thirty-eighth parallel when the liberation forces repulsed the attack and launched their counter-offensive to prevent Wall Street from enslaving the country, is to deny to a people the right to unify their country in the fight to expel the aggressors and invaders. That indeed is to turn the struggle for peace into its very opposite.

A few words on the United Nations. Here again, there is no simple answer to important questions. We cannot handle the United Nations merely by saying it is a tool of Wall Street, period. Let us not forget that the United Nations is still the hope of millions of Americans, and peoples throughout the world. The majority of people in our country look hopefully to the United Nations to perform the function of the world peace center, as originally conceived. As long as people feel so keenly on a question, a mere slogan is by no means adequate. We have the task of actually explaining the 5 years of United Nations existence, much more than we have done up to now. We must show concretely that since the day of the United Nations' birth at the San Francisco conference, United States representatives have conspired to undermine its influence, and prevent it from serving the cause of peace. United States imperialism started out at the beginning with the aim of transforming the United Nations into its instrument, an instrument to camouflage the aggressive plans of United States imperialism. We must show the people why the United Nations has never been able to play the role originally outlined in the United Nations Charter. The most the United Nations ever did was to mediate between the imperialist powers, as for instance, in Palestine, etc. But it never was *the* instrument for peace. And now it is the open tool of American imperialism, and the flag of the United Nations is the flag of piracy in Asia. We must hammer home that the United Nations can be an instrument for peace only if it opposes imperialist aggression. It cannot be an instrument for peace if it covers up aggression, or remains neutral, when acts of aggression are committed.

At this moment, we must hammer home the fact that there can be no United Nations unless the Soviet Union and China are active participants. This is an extremely important point for us to explain to the masses of our people.

Now on Trygve Lie. It is clear that Lie is not only one who goes along with imperialist aggression because of pressure. That is not true at all. He is an active agent and mobilizer for imperialist aggression, an active agent of Wall Street.

So much for questions and conclusions to meet the problems of the new situation that now exists in our country and the world.

* * * * *

Some words now about some questions of mass work generally, and specifically, some questions of the United Front. I think we have to start off by recognizing that we face new difficulties. There will be continued attempts to whip up hysteria in the United States. This is already seen in the manner in which the press plays up so-called atrocity stories. And we have to expect that there will be an increase in the hysteria, an increase in the attempts to intimidate broad masses in many ways—and especially to intimidate the peace movement and our party. Already there are daily arrests of leaflet distributors and peace signature collectors. Arrests have taken place in almost every State. Philadelphia alone had 18 arrests in the last few days. There are the arrests in Alabama, etc. The developments in Alabama are trial balloons for State and city governments to move against our party and the peace forces. The attacks on our party by legal, illegal, and extra-legal means will grow from day to day. We have to expect this and our party should be ready to meet the new difficulties this will create.

There is a real danger that the Mundt bill will be passed within the next days or weeks, and we certainly have to be alert to this threat. There will be an increase in deportations—they are already speeding up deportation hearings, etc.—and there will be an attack generally against all strikes. Truman's statement on the railroad strike is only an example of what can be expected.

We have to take careful note of these new difficulties and problems that arise out of the new conditions. We should not underestimate them, and we must see them in their full seriousness.

A second thing in relation to our mass work I want to emphasize is the need to stubbornly combat moods of pessimism or panic which arise from an overestimation of the enemy, and an underestimation of what the American people can and will do.

Let me read two questions placed at a functionaries' meeting in Brooklyn which reflects such moods. One goes like this: Are there any *concrete indications* today that the American people can meet the tremendous tasks that face them and turn back the tide of fascism in America, effecting a change in foreign policy? This, you must keep in mind, was sent up after the speech had been delivered. Another question: Can you give some facts to ascertain that the American working class will not repeat the mistakes of the German working class? There were a number of similar questions, although most of the questions were very sound. But, clearly, the questions read have an undertone of lack of confidence that the American working class and our party can meet the new situation.

It is a challenge to the leading committees of our party, to give the kind of leadership in this period that will move our party into action, give it confidence and enthusiasm in the outcome of today's struggles. That, we must do. We must, of course, combat any mood of pessimism. We must show that despite the difficulties, there are objective conditions that create new possibilities for mass work, for influencing the thinking and actions of millions.

Here I want to deal with one central question. We must see that there will be a big difference between the effects at home of the present war as compared to the last war—I would say even as compared to the last two wars. America is in a different situation in relation to this war than it was in the past. In the last two wars, other countries, other people, did the fighting, while Wall Street reaped the profits, and passed on to the American people some miserly crumbs. In the last two wars, not the United States, but other countries made great economic sacrifices. In this war, the United States will be forced to make big sacrifices in every sphere—economically, politically, materially, etc. This will be a new position for America.

What will happen, and, in fact, is already happening, is that the other imperialist powers will not give help, but instead maneuver to take advantage of United States imperialism's difficulties. They know what American imperialism did in the last two wars; and I can just see British bankers enthusiastically looking toward the future as American imperialism gets into ever deeper difficulties. This aside from the fact that the weakened position of the other imperialist powers, and the opposition to war adventures by the peoples who have paid a heavy price in two wars during a brief span of years, make them "undependable allies" of United States imperialism.

Secondly, American economy is already lopsided and will continue in that direction with the war economy becoming an ever larger part of our total economy. This will create many new problems. I think there are some illusions, even in our own ranks, that things on the home front will be the same as during the last World War. That, of course, is not true. The very character of the Second World War, the fact that America was part of a democratic coalition, tended to soften the blow and to hold back the attacks against the American people, especially in the economic field. There is no question but that the imperialist character of this war will unleash at home a wholesale attack against the working class and the Negro people, as our country has never yet witnessed. This attack will not unfold slowly but will take on full force almost immediately. Truman's statement on the railroad strike indicates this. The Wall Street bipartisans will not wait until the war is over to attempt to smash the unions, should they resist; nor will they hold back from violently attempting to crush the resistance of the working class and the Negro people.

There can be no illusions. Of course, the labor lieutenants of imperialism try to foster such illusions. There is talk again about labor-management committees, as existed during the Second World War, and a lot of other talk of "labor cooperation" schemes. We must drive home the fact that the character

of this war will have its effect on the home front. The attempt to enslave the peoples of Asia will go hand in hand with attempts to enslave the American people.

These developments will create objective conditions for expanded mass work. We must say that already there are objective conditions that create possibilities for greater mass activity. It is a fact that the reaction among the people to the Korean events does not indicate enthusiastic support to this war. There is considerable hesitation and skepticism on why the United States is fighting a war way out in Korea. Fear of atomic warfare continues to grow in this country, and rightly so. These things create possibilities of expanding our activity.

On this question of mass work, it is important to emphasize a number of things directly to our party. First, we must stress to every Communist and to every party club the need for individual and club initiative. This question has never been as important as it is right now; the need is not to wait for directives, but to move with confidence and initiative. In this sense we must retrain our party on the importance of learning how to give leadership to small groups, and not to view mass work as meaning only support for a national conference, a national campaign, or around a national issue. It is important to stress the need for individual Communists and individual clubs to lead the masses in small groups, whether at a shop or department level; in a community or block; in a local union or community organization. I would say we have to take special steps to retrain our party in understanding this principle method of work, because in the past period we have become accustomed to relying on national directives. Of course, we will still have such directives but the stress must be on moving into action whether such directives are received or not.

Furthermore, there is the need of boldness in bringing our position to the masses and not confusing hysterical reactions of small groups with the true sentiments of the broad masses.

Finally, we have to convince our party that the united front tactics must be applied under all and every condition. There can be no acceptance of the erroneous concept that as the attacks grow, as the difficulties increase, therefore we will narrow down our mass work, narrow down united front activity. There can be no situation in which our party will not give leadership to the working class, developing united front struggles around the defense of the people's interests. The more difficult times become, the more necessary is it to emphasize this point. We have to destroy any ideas that this is the moment to wait and see what develops. Such an approach is wrong at all times.

* * * * *

Concretely, on some tasks. In the first place, the struggle for peace. This remains the central question for us. In the very center of the struggle for peace is the importance of the collection of signatures for the peace petitions. This is important, especially since many districts are only just getting started. Our party must continue to be mobilized for collection of signatures. But we must add that not only is it important for our party members to collect these signatures, but special steps must be taken to bring broader masses into the work of signature collection—members of churches, workers in departments, union and shop stewards, neighbors in the block, all these must help to secure signatures.

Since Comrade Williamson will present a plan of work for the immediate period ahead, I will not go into the details on expanding our activities in the signature campaign.

But, of course, it is not enough today to say that the peace petitions are the only major activity in the peace drive. While we must continue on the same high level this phase of work, there are many additional tasks which we must now add to our activity. Among these tasks is the campaign for *Hands Off Korea, for the withdrawal of American Armed Forces from Korea*. This is a very important movement which we must help to build, and can build. We have to see that there are a number of specific issues around which we can build such a movement. Some people may not yet support the Hands Off Korea movement, but will support other issues. For instance, many people will actively support the demand for seating China in the United Nations. Others, who see Formosa and Korea as two different questions, will support the demand that the United States get out of Formosa, that the provisions of the Cairo and Potsdam agreements to return Formosa to China be realized. We can move people on such questions if they are not yet ready to move on the whole question of Korea.

In the process of the collection of signatures we must realize in life the building of peace organizations—peace committees of all types and descriptions. Here the question of building the Labor Peace Conference as a real mass organization is especially important.

We must build peace committees in the shops, in the neighborhoods, in organizations, etc. I think we have seriously neglected this task. For instance, Comrade Winston gave me a whole batch of letters, leaflets and reports. It is clear from this material that there are only a few States that have given any emphasis to the building of peace organizations. Only a few States—among them New Jersey—have taken any serious steps to organize peace committees during the signature collection. We must correct this shortcoming in this work speedily and without delay.

There is a need to orient the party to be prepared for emergency mobilizations on immediate developments. We have to ask ourselves: Is the party ready for rapid mobilization, let us say, to organize thousands of open-air meetings and rallies at short notice, in the event of an important development which demands reaching the people and winning them for quick action on one or another issue? We must guarantee that our party organizations are ready for such mobilizations around specific emergency issues at all times as they arise.

I have already indicated that there is a great need for us to carry through a well-thought-out ideological campaign on the imperialist character of the war. We must do a job on this question as we have never done before. The fact is that the great majority of Americans are not yet convinced that United States intervention in Korea is an unjust imperialist war. But they can be convinced, if they know the true facts.

* * * * *

Secondly, on the struggle for Negro rights. As I indicated earlier, our concept of the struggle for peace does not mean accepting slavery, accepting the status quo. What we must understand—and this is true in all periods but especially now—is that the struggle for peace and the struggle against all forms of discrimination and segregation is *one fight*.

It is not enough to speak about peace in general, and forget the struggle for equal rights. When we speak about raising the struggle for peace and the anti-imperialist struggle in general to new heights, we must simultaneously raise to new heights the struggles for the rights of the Negro people. We must show that the hand which pulls the trigger to kill the colored people of Asia, of Korea, is the same hand that tightens the lynch rope in the South. We must use the 15 days remaining to the date set for the electrocution of Willie McGee to unfold a broad movement to halt the hand of the executioners, and show how American imperialism is killing tens of thousands in Asia to foist its lynch terror on the millions in the colonies. We must show that the Wall Street-Bourbon ruling class has intensified its violent repression of the Negro people, because the Negro people today want and fight for national liberation, fight against the white-supremacist policies of discrimination and segregation. We must take the question of jobs, FEPC, housing and the poll tax to show the connection of these questions and the imperialist war drive in Asia and the Pacific.

Here we should note that the Chicago Negro Trade-Union Conference was an indication of the new level of the struggle of the Negro people in America, the new level of understanding and militancy especially among Negro trade-unionists. This was an historic gathering, and can be one of the significant levers to raise the whole struggle for Negro rights to new levels. We have to examine and reexamine our work in this field in light of the new events and the new responsibilities we face. If there is any place the imperialist character of this war will be readily understood, it is among the Negro people.

Next, on the question of the youth. In periods like these, the youth question becomes ever more important. But, if we really understood the direction in which United States imperialism is traveling, we would have exerted greater efforts in building the youth movement. We must admit that we have been remiss in our obligation to provide leadership to the youth, helping them to resolve important questions, giving them cooperation in expanding the working-class base of their organization, and training a broader youth cadre. Especially now when the youth are called upon to be the first to die in this war, the whole question of work among the youth assumes first-rate importance. Therefore, it is imperative that party youth work be examined. The question

of jobs for the youth, of educational opportunities, of a secure future, have to be seen within the context of a continuously expanding war economy and drive toward atomic warfare. From this standpoint, too, we have to reexamine this entire field of work. It should be noted here that the young people in the Labor Youth League are doing an outstanding job on the peace petition, and further guidance will help them expand these activities, realizing in life united action for peace and against fascism of the present youth generation.

Now, on some questions in regard to the trade-union movement; I think we have to understand that here we face some new problems. We face a real test. In fact, the working class, as well as our party, faces a test. For if the present course of American imperialism is to be defeated, the responsibility falls first of all on the working class and its trade-unions. We have to drive home to left and progressive trade-union leaders that history will not judge their leadership on the basis of what they did on wages, on speed-up, or on organizing the unorganized. But they will be judged on the basis of what they do about this war. The left and progressive trade-union leaders must fully understand this. The fact is that the reaction of the trade-union movement to the outbreak of the war in Korea has been very slow and sluggish. Of course, there have been many good reactions, but these have as yet been far too few. What we must understand is that the effects of this war on the home front is not going to be taken lying down by the workers of this country. The increase of strikes in the last few days is evidence of this. Even the way the railroad unions called off their strike showed that they will not give up the struggle on economic questions.

What we will witness in the period ahead is growing resistance to the attacks of Wall Street on the economic conditions of the workers. The left and progressive trade-union leaders must be ready to give leadership to these unfolding struggles. Therefore, there is great need of coordination of left-progressive forces, a great need of building an organ of the left-progressive trade-union movement, a magazine to influence the masses; and there is the need of further extending the rank-and-file movements in many industries, crystallizing rank-and-file movements in the shops. This is so important today, especially because the official trade-union leadership openly and completely has gone over in support of the war program.

Just a word here on John L. Lewis. If there have been any illusions about him, I think the last few days should have completely destroyed them, because Lewis participated wholeheartedly in the discussions with Government officials in support of labor-management cooperation in the present war.

I cannot leave this specific field without mentioning some questions in relation to work among the women. One of the things our party has noted now for some time, and I hope the districts have recognized this as well, is that the best forces in the struggle for peace have been the women—the most active, persistent peace forces have been our women comrades. This is true not only in one State, but throughout the country. In those party districts where women comprise a substantial section of our membership, we find the best peace activities, not only in signature collections but in crystallizing peace movements generally. The best mass workers in our party are the women comrades. I say this because the districts have the responsibility to draw these comrades into leadership, into the leading committees. Furthermore, in the present situation, the Women's Commission and our party generally must help to work out concretely the connection between the war and high prices; the war and lack of housing; the effects of the war on child care, education, etc., in order to draw into peace activities ever-broader sections of the women in our country.

A word about the campaign for the freedom of Comrade Dennis and the other political prisoners, as well as the defense campaign generally. I don't think it is necessary to elaborate on this point in order to show the new importance of this question. I think we all agree there will be many more prisoners—many more victims of Wall Street's aggressive war drive—that we will have to defend. But I do want to say a few words on the amnesty campaign. We must not allow this campaign to be sidestepped because we are in a peace campaign. The fight for amnesty for the political prisoners is one of the most important issues in the fight for peace. We must never forget, however, that on this we must organize a special campaign. Somehow or other, we overlook the fact that there must be a campaign for the freedom of the general secretary of our party, and that this campaign, particularly for our party, must be an especially important campaign. The plans drawn up on this campaign must be put into practice.

Here special note should be taken of Gene's birthday, which Comrade Elizabeth has written about, and the appearance of Gene's first book. At any time when

a book of the general secretary of the party is published, this becomes an important occasion for our party. But this is the first book by our general secretary. And, more important, the book appears while Gene is in prison, and with the whole new war situation, giving added significance to the event. It should be stated that this significance of the publication of *Ideas They Cannot Jail* is not fully appreciated, because the orders are coming in far too slowly. The book will be out in a couple of days, Monday or Tuesday of next week, and as yet the large districts have not sent in their orders, and most of the districts have placed orders for very small numbers. When I say "large districts," I mean California, Ohio, Illinois, Detroit, etc. It is clear that we must revise our whole approach to this book and guarantee that it receives a maximum distribution.

A few words on the 1950 elections. I think we must take another look at the elections in view of the new situation, in every district, separately. I think we can already see a certain trend taking place in regard to candidates who are jumping on the bandwagon in support of Truman and the war, lock, stock, and barrel. Republicans blame the Democrats for the difficulties and the set-backs in Korea, and there will be a lot of demagogic speeches made by Republicans, but basically they are in full support of the war.

The direction of our new look into the 1950 elections should be to raise the sights with regard to independent progressive and Communist candidates. This does not mean we will not continue to try to influence candidates in other parties. But the new stage of imperialist aggression, the stage of military intervention, has become such an all-dominating issue in the political life of our country that it becomes impossible to give any kind of support, critical or otherwise, to any candidate who supports this unjust war of United States imperialism. In deciding upon our tactics, we must continue to take into consideration all facts, such as the illusions of the masses, the weaknesses in the development of the democratic coalition, etc. But all this within the context of the main question, the decisive question, of support or opposition to the policy of imperialist military aggression. We must assure greater concentration on campaigns around individual progressive candidates, to guarantee their election, and not to spread the forces of the progressive movement too thin. To carry out this policy in many States it will be necessary to consider tactics like writing candidates, etc.

As much as it is possible, we must provide candidates so the masses can express their opposition to the imperialist war policies by their votes. But if this is not possible, it does not mean we will sit this election out. The election campaign of 1950 must be a period of the most intensive peace crusading of the year.

The election campaign must result in a further growth and crystallization of the broad people's democratic coalition and the strengthening of the Progressive Party and the third-party movement and a further growth of our own party.

A word about the Daily Worker and The Worker. Comrade Winston will speak about this, but I want to say a few words. I think we can agree that during this whole past period, when we raised the struggle for peace to greater heights, the Daily Worker has done an honorable job, a job far surpassing anything it has done in the past. This is the sentiment and feeling of the comrades from every area. The attacks of the enemy on the Daily testifies to this fact. The comrades have a great feeling of pride in the role of the Daily Worker and The Worker in this situation. In other words, the quality of the Daily Worker is at an all-time high.

But despite this, we have to say that the circulation of the paper continues to decline. This is a contradiction difficult to understand. The only way to explain this decline is to note that our comrades see the paper as important for us but do not see it as a mass medium for reaching non-Communist workers. Therefore, the contradiction between a growing appreciation of the great job it is doing and the absence of a deepgoing understanding that it must be circulated more widely. This exists even in the party leadership. Therefore, I want to suggest, in addition to the points Comrade Winston will raise, that we organize in every district special Daily Worker brigades to go on the streets with the paper. This is an emergency question which cannot wait for conferences. There must be Daily Worker brigades on the streets, selling the paper widely. The situation demands that type of approach to the circulation of the Daily Worker and The Worker.

In conclusion, I don't think I have to emphasize that our party and our leadership face some really grave responsibilities in this new situation. The working people of the entire world are watching what is taking place in the United States

more so than in any other country. This is understandable. Everything we do, no matter how small, echoes throughout the world and its importance extends beyond our Nation's borders. We should understand our responsibilities in that sense. Whatever we do is of the greatest importance in this period. The whole membership must understand this responsibility of our party. We must soberly see the new situation, the new difficulties, but we must just as soberly see the new possibilities. While the attacks on our party will intensify, new allies will be won in the struggle against Wall Street imperialism. We will not give up 1 inch of the legality of our party without a many-sided struggle, and new forces will be won against Wall Street's drive to outlaw our party.

In this period we must learn to stand on our own feet. Each comrade in the leadership must learn to take a position, to use initiative, without constant consultation.

There is no room, comrades, for any moods of pessimism at this time. World capitalism has reason to be pessimistic. History is on the side of the working class—on the side of the forces fighting to advance social progress.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you another document, entitled "Outline Guide for Speakers at Club Meetings, Outdoor Meetings, Leaflet Writers," and so forth, with the underlined subheading "Material on the Korean Situation." This document, according to the photostat, was prepared by the National Education Department of the Communist Party, U. S. A., on July 1, 1950, and was reprinted by the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania.

I show you a photostatic copy of this document and ask you if it was also one of the documents obtained by the Pittsburgh Police Department under the provisions of the search warrant which has been previously mentioned in this hearing?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. Incidentally, these are the first documents, to the best of my knowledge, that have presented to this committee the Communist Party position on the Korean situation.

This particular document is the same type of directive which I have received while a functionary in the Communist Party of the United States, and is distributed to the Communist Party functionaries to be used to carry on discussions at club meetings, and also as a guide to the Communist Party functionaries in carrying the Communist Party line on the Korean situation to the factories, mills, mass organizations, and so forth.

The document, which I have read very carefully, attacks the United States Government and refers to the United States as an aggressor, as an imperialist, warmonger, and such terms. I know from past experience in the party that documents such as this one, which are prepared by the national education department of the Communist Party of the United States of America, are, in fact, directives to Communist Party functionaries in the United States.

The source of some of this material is contained in For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy, the official organ of the Cominform, which I also had an opportunity to read and compare with this document.

This document was also obtained under the search warrant, from Steve Nelson's desk.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I request that in view of the nature of this document it be introduced in the record as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 83," and that the material contained therein be made a part of the transcript of this hearing.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 83," is as follows:)

OUTLINE GUIDE FOR SPEAKERS AT CLUB MEETINGS, OUTDOOR MEETINGS, LEAFLET WRITERS, ETC.

(Reprinted by Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania)

MATERIAL ON THE KOREAN SITUATION

(Prepared by the national education department, Communist Party, U. S. A., July 1, 1950)

I. American imperialism moves from the stage of advanced preparation for war to open military aggression—to war against the people of Korea, against all movements of national liberation

1. The sending of United States air, naval, and ground forces to Korea is a brazen act of Wall Street intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. It is aimed to bolster its discredited and hated Syngman Rhee Fascist puppet regime in South Korea against the will of the Korean people who are united in their demand for a free, democratic, and independent Korea.

2. President Truman's order to dispatch the Seventh Fleet of the United States Navy to Formosa, the last refuge of the ousted militarist-Fascist Chiang Kai-shek clique, is a direct act of aggression against the Chinese People's Republic, and a violation of postwar international agreements for the restoration of Formosa to China.

3. The speeding of arms and a military mission to Indochina is aimed to bolster the unsuccessful attempts of the French imperialists and the treacherous Bao Dai government to crush the undefeated and unconquerable independence struggle of the people of Indochina.

4. The strengthening of United States forces in the Philippine Islands, and the sending of increased military aid to the corrupt Quirino government, aims to transform the Philippines into a decisive military base of American imperialism in the Far East and to destroy the resistance movement of the people.

5. Wall Street's Korean provocation was also designed to serve as the excuse for a separate treaty with Japan and to speed Japan's transformation into the major base in the Pacific for war against the Soviet Union, China, and all the peoples of Asia.

6. Thus, American imperialism, in its drive for world domination—in its drive toward a new world war—has now entered the open military phase of its intervention in the affairs of nations and peoples, with the launching of a war of murder and plunder against the people of Korea. *It is its strategy of world expansion and domination, and not concern for Korean "democracy and independence" that determines the present far eastern policy of Wall Street and its bipartisans in Washington.* For American imperialism must crush the national liberation movements in all parts of the world as a prerequisite to unleashing World War III.

7. As Gus Hall stated:

"Call it what you will, we are now confronted by a policy of naked, armed struggle for the imperialist domination of the Far East—where hundreds of millions of people are fighting and dying for the rights we Americans won in 1776" (Hands Off Korea and Formosa, p. 4).

II. American Imperialism Engineered and Provoked the War in Korea, as a Cover for Aggressive Armed Intervention in All of Asia

1. The war in Korea is not a war between the people of North and South Korea; it is not, as the Truman-Acheson-Dulles State Department would have us believe, a war to "repel the Communist invasion of South Korea" and to stop "aggression." It is a war deliberately planned and provoked by Wall Street, using as a tool the fascist Syngman Rhee government to provide the excuse for aggressive military intervention by United States imperialism not alone in Korea but in the whole of the Far East.

(a) As the June 27 statement of the secretariat of the national committee declared:

"The military provocation in Korea is planned as a smoke screen behind which to intervene against the struggle for independence of the peoples of Korea, China, Formosa, the Philippines, Viet Nam, Indonesia, and Malaya.

"These war moves of Wall Street's armed intervention are only in the interest of the big industrialists, the powerful bankers who mint their profits from the lives of plain people here and throughout the world."

2. The war provocation in Korea was planned in Washington and Tokyo. Just a few weeks prior to the attack on North Korea, Secretary of Defense Johnson, Chief of the General Staff Bradley, and the Republican consultant of the State Department, John Foster Dulles, met in Tokyo with General MacArthur to map out strategic plans to step up the war drive in the Pacific. United States imperialism needed the Korean "incident" to carry out the strategic objectives agreed upon at these conferences.

(a) Thus, Dulles, repudiated by the New York State electorate as a notorious warmonger and reactionary, was sent to South Korea to review the preparedness of its armed forces (witness the photograph of Dulles in the South Korean trenches). He assured the subservient South Korean legislature:

"You are not alone. You will never be alone so long as you continue to play worthily your part in the great design of human freedom." (See New York Herald Tribune, June 26, 1950.)

Before Dulles returned to the United States, the attack on the People's Democratic Republic of Korea had begun.

(b) The New York Times of July 6, in an article headed, "Senate Was Told Korea Was Ready," reported that, on June 13, William C. Foster, deputy administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration, told a closed session of the Senate Committee on Appropriations:

"A rigorous training program has built up a well-disciplined army of 100,000 soldiers; one that is prepared to meet any challenge by North Korean forces; and one that has cleaned out the guerilla bands in South Korea in one area after another."

(c) In the June column of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, in the Herald Tribune, we read:

"* * * when the Communists struck on Saturday night, a plan of American counterattack was ready in the top-secret files of the State and Defense Departments. This is why an immediate appeal was made to the United Nations, and General MacArthur was ordered to supply the Korea forces with surplus arms, even before Truman returned on Sunday from Missouri to Washington." (Our emphasis.)²

(d) The U. S. News and World Report of July 7, 1950, carries a telephone interview with Joseph Fromm, its regional editor in the Far East, where we find the following:

"Question: Wasn't this the sort of thing General MacArthur has been advocating all along?"

"Answer. Always. Of course, in a situation like this there has to be a long-prepared plan for evacuation and so on, and they have had plans drawn up here for several years to use in case of an emergency. When the trouble started they reviewed the plans to make sure they could be put into effect quickly if necessary."

"Question. Did he and Secretary Johnson and General Bradley agree pretty much?"

"Answer. Yes; they were very much in agreement on the question of the whole position out here." (Our emphasis.)²

3. When at the dawn of June 25, the Syngman Rhee troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, they moved in accord with a plan worked out in advance, well informed on the help they would receive from Wall Street. They knew that General MacArthur would place at the disposal of their criminal aims the sea and air forces, the ground troops, and armaments of the United States.

4. The warlike aims of the Rhee government has been noted again and again even by columnists and correspondents in the capitalist press. The citations are too many to mention; a few are typical:

(a) The New York Herald Tribune of November 1, 1949, reported:

"Sihn Sung Mo, South Korean Defense Minister, said today that his army is ready and waiting to invade Communist North Korea but has been restrained by American officials."

"Referring to the readiness of his troops to drive into North Korea, Mr. Sinh expressed confidence that they could wrest control from the Communists."

"If we had our own way we would, I'm sure, have started up already," he told a press conference. "But we had to wait until they (American Government leaders) are ready." They keep telling us, "No, no, no; wait. You are not ready."

²(Our emphasis) means emphasis given by the Communist Party in their original document.

"We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang (the northern capital) within a few days," he said * * *."

(b) Walter Sullivan, writing in the New York Times on June 26, 1950, stated:

"The South Korean Government has in the past embroidered the news of border incidents in an apparent effort to convince Americans of the need for greater military aid. * * * The warlike talk strangely has almost all come from South Korean leaders. In asserting that his government needed more heavy weapons, Dr. Rhee said at an Independence Day rally, March 1, that the cries of distress from his countrymen in the north could not long be ignored. On a number of occasions Dr. Rhee has indicated that his army would have taken the offensive if Washington had given consent."

(c) On August 5, 1949, Allan Raymond, writing in the New York Herald Tribune, stated:

"The one outstanding thing about the South Korean army, now it has been purged several times of Communist infiltrators, is its outspoken desire to take the offensive against North Korea. It wants to cross the border. Its best officers are *Japanese-trained professionals*, with a fine frosting of American Army training." (Our emphasis.)³

5. Unable satisfactorily to explain the speedy routing of the South Korean Army by the liberation forces of the people, the bourgeois press attempts to create the impression that lack of training, absence of ammunition, etc., accounts for the daily defeats. But the facts belie this propaganda.

(a) On August 24, 1948, a formal pact was signed between Syngman Rhee and Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge on continued American training of South Korean armed forces. Thus, despite the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea by June 1949 (6 months after Soviet troops had been withdrawn from North Korea), 500 United States military advisers remained to work with the Ministry of National Defense to train the South Korean Army.

(b) Brig. Gen. William L. Roberts, until recently commander of the United States military advisory group, in a recent Seoul interview, described the South Korean Army "*as the best fighting force on the Asiatic Continent*" and is reported to have said that *a full-scale attack was just what was needed to complete the training of the South Korean Army.* (See New York Times June 26, 1950. Our emphasis.)

(c) It is reported that when American troops withdrew from Korea, \$110,000,000 of equipment was turned over to the Syngman Rhee government, and the millions of dollars allocated for aid to Korea went for preparations for war and not to help in the reconstruction of the country.

III. American military intervention in Korea is aimed to prevent the internal collapse of a regime despised and hated by the Korean people

1. The American-installed Syngman Rhee government was opposed by all sections of the patriotic and democratic forces of South Korea. It was able to maintain itself in power only by the will and the arms of Wall Street and by brutal fascist terror which surpassed even that of the Japanese.

2. Driving underground democratic trade-unions, murdering and jailing patriots of all political beliefs, suppressing activities of all democratic parties and public organizations, intensifying the exploitation of the peasants and the workers while American- and Japanese-vested interests continued to rob the country of its natural wealth and resources, the Syngman Rhee regime evoked throughout South Korea the hatred of the expanding people's resistance movement and faced imminent "internal collapse."

3. Despite State Department propaganda of the "democratic character" of its puppet regime, the words of Truman in his speech on June 27 at the laying of the cornerstone of the new Federal Courts Building in Washington falsely ascribed to "Communist states" what actually describes the fascist regimes in South Korea, and in the other "protectorates" of Wall Street. Truman said:

"In the areas under their control, these totalitarian governments have swept away all restraints on their own power. They have subjected their own people to all the evils of tyranny—to kidnaping, torture, slavery, murder—without hope of redress or remedy."

Eye witnesses with but an ounce of honesty constantly point to the Chiang Kai-shek type of government of corruption and fascist reaction imposed by American imperialism on the people of Korea.

³(Our emphasis) refers to Communist Party.

(a) Owen Lattimore, in his memorandum in August 1949 for the State Department's advisory committee, made public last April 3, says:

"South Korea is more of a liability than an asset to the interests and policy of the United States. It is doubtful how long the present regime in South Korea can be kept alive, and mere effort to keep it alive is a bad advertisement which continually draws attention to a band of little and inferior Chiang Kai-sheks who are the scorn of the Communists and have lost the respect of democratic and would-be democratic groups and movements throughout Asia. * * *

"The United States should disembarass itself as quickly as possible of its entanglements in South Korea."

(b) U. S. News and World Report, a big business organ, writes in its July 7, 1950, issue:

"* * * A rigid rightist, he [Rhee] fought not only Communist elements but also more moderate leaders. His secret police became a feared and reviled body. They had been trained by the Japanese and behaved in much the same old way.

"Rhee's support was based on an amalgamation of some 50 rightist splinter parties. His increasingly dictatorial methods began to alienate these groups. He came to the presidency by the election of the legislature, the latter chosen beforehand in Korea's first general election. President Rhee, under the urging of United States officials and Koreans as well, called new elections in May of this year.

"The result was a vote against communism, but a vote against President Rhee as well. Most incumbent members of the legislature were swept out of office. 'Independent' anti-Rhee factions won more than 120 of the 210 seats. The Rhee regime was left tottering by lack of confidence both in Korea and abroad."

(c) In a letter published in the New York Times on August 12, 1947, Yongjeung Kim, president of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C., stated:

"In South Korea there is little law and order. The recent assassination of Lyuh Woon Hyung, a great liberal leader, is one of the many evidences substantiating this lawlessness. * * * These men are surrounded and supported by former high-ranking collaborators of the Japanese regime, profiteers, and their fellow travelers, whose only concern is for their own personal future."

(d) On June 29, 1950, the foreign news staff of the New York Compass summarizes the rule of tyranny in South Korea:

"From the evidence of even the most conservative observers, South Korea has been run for the past 4 years by an unpopular government which maintained its rule by thousands of arrests and mass killings of 'Communists.' In 1947, Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, wrote on his return from Korea that the regime—which has changed little since—was a 'feeble puppet government' and a 'police state.' * * *

"The schools were purged of all teachers who were 'Communists,' or inclined to the left and who do not make their political beliefs clear. Student committees were set up to report on all fellow pupils who did not support the Rhee regime.

"The judiciary was purged twice in 1949 of 'leftist agents.'"

"Last December, after some protests against widespread police barbarism, the Home Minister warned, 'the torturing of Communists by the police is not to be criticized.'"

"In September 1949, the Home Ministry's own figures listed 36,000 political prisoners—16,000 more than the capacity of South Korea's jails. * * *

"In 1948 and 1949, 10,000 guerrillas and 2,000 civilians were reported killed in a rebellion on the island of Cheju-do.

"In October 1948 an infantry regiment mutinied at the port of Yosu. The mutineers spread their revolt to five provinces and fighting lasted until April 1949. By the Government's own figures, 9,540 rebels were killed, wounded, or captured and 23,000 were arrested as coconspirators."

4. That the regime of violence of Syngman Rhee was rejected by the broad populace, is attested to by the stories of the "apathy of the South Korean people," the rapid disintegration and wholesale desertions of South Korean troops who have "no will to fight" only to be enslaved by American imperialism.

(a) Thus James Reston writes in the New York Times of June 27:

"Press dispatches which spoke of crumbling morale in the South Korean Army came as no surprise to observers who have recently visited Korea. The unpopularity of the Syngman Rhee government, as attested by the last election, and the questionable political and military reliability of the army and police force are the greatest weaknesses of the regime. There is no will to fight. * * *

(b) The Portland Oregonian on June 27, after telephoning an American authority in Korea, C. W. Earle, whom it described as a "keen observer" and a

former CIO official now with ECA quoted him as saying the South Korean people are "apathetic." The Oregonian editorializes:

"In many respects that single word 'apathetic,' as descriptive of the demeanor of the people of Seoul and South Korea in general, has far more significance than all the statements that are coming out of the United States and the State Department at Washington."

(c) And Harold R. Isaacs writing in the New York Post of July 5, says: "But, if in China during the Japanese war, the Americans had a friendly population on their side, this is by no means the case now in Korea. The political liabilities are even greater than the purely military difficulties."

"The South Korean Government was an unpopular one in the election held only 4 weeks ago * * *. The regime of President Syngman Rhee was decisively repudiated. Long prior to that South Korea had been pocked by areas held by Communist guerrillas who had been waging a hit-and-run war against Rhee's government."

"They could have operated only with a considerable measure of popular support. Moreover, the intense desire of all Koreans for reunification of their dismembered country may well be stronger than their fear of Russia. * * *

"We have much more reason to count on general Korean hostility than on heroic support."

5. In contrast, the liberating army of North Korea which so decisively repulsed the American-incited aggression and routed the South Korean troops, is supported by large partisan forces in the South, welcomed by the population in all liberated cities and towns. Hence Pak Hen Nen, Foreign Minister of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, in his message of protest to the United Nations, could say:

"The population is everywhere welcoming its army, which has liberated it from the terrors of the Syngman Rhee regime, and is giving it active assistance in the liberation of the country. The heroic partisans in South Korea have carried out military operations on the enemy's communications and have cut the main railway line from the harbor of Pusan; in collaboration with the insurgent population they have freed a number of towns in South Korea. The flight of the Syngman Rhee army and the popular rising in its rear are further evidence of the rottenness and failure of the antipopular regime of the South Korean puppets of the U. S. A."

IV. American military intervention in Korea is aimed to forestall the peaceful democratic unification of the country, which has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of North and South Korea

1. At the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers in December 1945, an agreement was signed to provide for joint American-Soviet trusteeship of Korea for a period up to 5 years—with the country divided into two zones, North Korea under the trusteeship of the U. S. S. R. and South Korea of the United States. The objective of the joint trusteeship was not to make permanent the division of Korea but to assist in the political and economic reconstruction of the country and bring about its speedy reunification through the establishment of a united, independent, democratic state.

2. Democratic and progressive organizations, with the support of millions of Koreans, worked from that day on to bring about the peaceful unification of the country and to prevent the whole of Korea from being converted once again into a colony of foreign imperialism. The continued division of the country into two zones hindered industrial reconstruction, democratic development, and the protection of the social welfare of the people. The Korean people were determined to overcome this artificial division of their nation.

3. On September 26, 1947, the head of the Soviet delegation in the joint commission proposed the simultaneous withdrawal of American and Soviet troops from Korea in order to give the people an opportunity to set up without any interference, a central democratic government. But the United States rejected this proposal, for it was bent on perpetuating the partition of the country and consolidating its own position in South Korea. Instead, the United States unilaterally forced the Korean question on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly in October 1947, which then set up a special commission for Korea, without the participation of the Korean people, to supervise elections in that country. With the assistance of this so-called United Nations Commission on Korea, separate elections were held in South Korea on May 10, 1948.

4. In April 1948, a joint conference of representatives from 56 political parties and public organizations, with a total membership of over 10,000,000,

called for a boycott of the separate elections, and declared they would consider any government elected in such elections as "illegal" and not representative of the will of the Korean people. They appealed to the Government of the United States and the U. S. S. R. to accept a proposal for withdrawal of all troops in order to give Korean people an opportunity to elect a central democratic government of their own choosing. Despite this appeal, the United States proceeded with separate elections, held under a reign of murder and terror, and thus, with bayonet and police club, the American military authorities brought into being their puppet regime by Syngman Rhee.

5. In June 1948, more than 70 political parties and public organizations again met in joint conference, declared the separate election illegal, and decided to hold a general election in both South and North Korea to proclaim a united democratic Korean Republic and form a central government. In the north 99.97 percent of the electorate and 77.5 percent in the south came to the polls and elected representatives to a Supreme People's Assembly to govern the entire country. Thirty-two different parties and public organizations, every section of the Korean people—workers, peasants, office employees, handicraft men, tradesmen, manufacturers, cultural workers—are represented in the assembly.

(a) On September 10, 1948, the Supreme People's Assembly again appealed for the simultaneous withdrawal of troops. The Soviet Union, on September 20, declared its readiness to evacuate by January 1, 1949. This left no alternative for the United States—which evacuated its troops reluctantly 6 months later.

(b) But the Syngman Rhee government determined to solidify the partition of Korea in preparation for its forceful "reunification" of the country. (Kim Hu, one of the leaders of the right-wing camp, was murdered, 12 members of the Supreme Assembly imprisoned, etc.)

6. But the people did not give up the fight for the unification of the country. At the end of June 1949, a United Democratic Fatherland Front was formed, uniting 71 political parties and public organizations of various political trends, worked out a program for the peaceful unification of the country. As late as June 7, 1950, the central committee of the United Democratic Patriotic Front called for the holding of a conference of all representatives of democratic political parties and organizations in the neighborhood of the thirty-eighth parallel to discuss conditions for the peaceful unification of Korea and methods for the carrying through of a general election during August 5-8 and decided to hold on August 15, the fifth anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese domination, a session of the Government thus elected, in the city of Seoul.

7. It is the knowledge of these facts that causes some consternation in the ranks of bourgeois far eastern correspondents who believe the fairy tales of the United States State Department that the "North Koreans decided to attack." Thus Walter Sullivan writes in the New York Times of June 28:

"Observers here continue to express amazement at the North Korean decision—presumably with Soviet concurrence—to resort to a frontal attack. There was considerable evidence 2 months ago that such was not planned in Pyongyang although 'education,' legislation, and other moves indicated that unification was expected within the next 2 or 3 years.

"Early this year affairs in South Korea were going from bad to worse economically and politically, according to reports received here. The Communists were believed to be counting on the collapse of the Government without need for a direct attack."

And 2 days earlier he wrote:

"The theme song of the official North Korean radio during the past year has been the quest for 'peaceful unification of the fatherland.' Apparently this meant unification by internal collapse of the southern Government."

8. The line of the Syngman Rhee government was fully expressed at a press conference held on March 9, 1949, by Yun Chi Yong, former Minister of Home Affairs and Vice Speaker of the South Korean National Assembly, after a meeting with the United Nations Commission on Korea. He said:

"What was discussed with the United Nations Commission is that peaceful unification of South and North Korea is nothing more than a political plot. The only way to unify South and North Korea is for the Republic of Taehan to regain the lost land in North Korea by force."

9. The answer to the proposal for peaceful unification was given on June 25 in the American-supported aggression against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea by the Syngman Rhee government. American imperialism saw no other path to forestall peaceful unification of the country and to "protect" its vested interests in Korea.

V. American imperialism turns the United Nations into an instrument for carrying out its acts of aggression

1. The Truman-Acheson-Dulles bipartisans strive hard to present their military intervention in Korea as a fulfillment of the behests of the United Nations as a United Nations "peace mission" which has universal support. In actuality, the United States acted first and received sanction later from the United Nations. It is not the United States which carries out the will of the United Nations. It is the United Nations that carries out the will of the United States State Department.

(a) The Truman administration proclaims, and wants the world to believe, that armed intervention in Korea was executed on the basis of the resolution adopted on June 25 at the hurriedly assembled session of the Security Council. The fact is that at this first meeting the Security Council, serving as a willing tool of American imperialism, placed the "guilt" for the war in Korea not on the true aggressors but on the North Korean People's Government. It did this *without even the pretense of an investigation*, accepting as the basis for its action the Rhee government's version. But at this first meeting it did not call for military sanctions; it issued a cease-fire order and for withdrawal of North Korean troops to the thirty-eighth parallel.

(b) The fact is that armed intervention by the United States in Korea was launched 24 hours before the United States sought and secured the official endorsement of the Security Council for military sanctions. Truman ordered United States planes and ships to Korea late Monday, June 26. The Security Council voted for the resolution proposed by the United States to "furnish such assistance * * * as may be necessary to repel attack" on Tuesday, June 27.

(c) The United Nations Charter clearly provides that the Security Council can make decisions on military sanctions only after it has made a thorough investigation and exhausted every other measure to stop acts of aggression. Article 42 provides for "demonstrations, blockage, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces" only after all other measures have proven "inadequate." Clearly, the Security Council, at the behest of American imperialism, took the decision on military sanctions before it applied all other measures required by the United Nations Charter.

2. The action of the Security Council was also a violation of article 27 of the United Nations Charter.

(a) Article 27 provides that decisions on important questions shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, and must include the votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France.

(b) The fact is that two permanent members of the Security Council—China and the Soviet Union—were not present at the Council sessions. The Soviet Union has found it impossible to participate in the sessions of the Security Council precisely because the United States has thus far succeeded in preventing the admission of the representatives of the People's Republic of China, whose seat is usurped by the representatives of the ousted Chiang Kai-shek government.

(c) Less than 3 years ago this provision of the United Nations Charter was supported by the United States. On October 20, 1947, the State Department declared:

"The United States endorses the principle that the five permanent members shall be in agreement before the Security Council may take enforcement action regarding threats to peace, breaches of peace, or acts of aggression."

(d) But today the United States violates this basic principle of unanimity, which is the foundation of the United Nations in order to transform the United Nations from an instrument of peace into an instrument of war. James Reston, writing from Washington in the New York Times of June 29 says:

"Officials here agree that their plans were greatly assisted by the Soviet boycott of the Security Council sessions. If the Soviet representative had been present, he could have vetoed the United Nations resolution calling for aid, and days or perhaps weeks might have passed before the United States could have arranged for the United Nations General Assembly to pass a resolution calling for aid to the South Koreans."

(e) That the United States deliberately prevented the admission of the new China to the Security Council in order to keep out the Soviet Union so that the United States could proceed with the carrying out of its strategic objectives, is also affirmed in the delay in transmitting the note to the Soviet

Union asking for cooperation in ending the Korean war. Thus Irving Pflaum in his column in the Chicago Sun-Times of June 29, expresses suspicion at the "evident desire to avoid all barriers to our armed intervention in the far Pacific." He points out:

"On Sunday night in the White House it was decided to send a note to Moscow. It invited Soviet cooperation in ending the Korean attack. Though the note was supposed to be secret, I learned of its existence and contents Monday noon. But it wasn't delivered to the Kremlin until Tuesday, when it was too late for a Soviet reply that might have delayed United States action. "For the President announced his decision Tuesday noon. Our planes and ships already were moving. And the United Nations Security Council in New York was meeting later that day to consider the resolution calling for aid to South Korea.

"Sunday's United Nations resolution wasn't intended to call upon members for military sanctions. Yet the President used it to justify our action. It contained a joker which served his purpose.

"These three events are the circumstantial evidence that makes me suspicious. They suggest an evident desire to avoid all barriers to our armed intervention in the far Pacific.

"General MacArthur previously had convinced the Pentagon that Formosa must be saved. But Washington was on record as opposing aid to Formosa.

"It could get off the hook by using the Korean attack as a reason for protecting Formosa. It didn't want to give Moscow or Lake Success a chance to withdraw the Korean invitations. Hence the note to Moscow was delayed until Tuesday and we acted before the Security Council did. There was a slight vote. The White House says it couldn't wait because of the military situation in Korea. But why didn't it send the note to Moscow on Sunday when it was drafted?"

3. The statement of the national secretariat of our party correctly calls upon all people in the United States to think over carefully the true meaning of the actions of the United Nations Security Council, and says:

"* * * those representatives on the United Nations Security Council who shamelessly hastened to do the bidding of Wall Street's representative merit the censure of the world.

"Why did they hasten to place the 'guilt' upon the People's Government of Northern Korea? Why did they not investigate the facts, seek the truth?

"Why did they ignore well-known facts about the Syngman Rhee Government and its bloody tortures and imprisonment of all Korean patriots from left to conservative?

"Why did they not ask the facts from a representative of the people's government of North Korea?

"Why did they not ask what John Foster Dulles—spurned as Senator from New York—was doing in Korea, standing in the front lines of the puppet government trenches, giving them their marching orders?

"Why did the United Nations Security Council promptly rubber-stamp the demand of the United States imperialists? Why did they act without the presence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese representative * * *.

"The action of the United Nations Security Council was an additional smoke-screen behind which the Wall Street bipartisan coalition moved."

VI. American imperialism, determined to crush the colonial liberation struggles spreading throughout Asia, has assumed the role of gendarme for world imperialism

1. After the defeat of Japanese imperialism, the peoples of Asia, who had lived for generations in colonial bondage, were determined to realize their age-old aspirations for freedom and independence from foreign oppression. One of the most important consequences of World War II was the rapid growth of the national liberation movement among the oppressed colored peoples of the colonial world. The world-shaking victory of the Chinese people over the corrupt fascist Kuomintang clique with their American imperialist backers and the establishment of a people's democratic republic embracing 450,000,000 people, gave new courage and strength to the struggle for freedom of other colonial peoples.

2. The will to independence of the colonial peoples has countered the violent resistance of world imperialism headed by the United States.

(a) 180,000 French imperialist troops, supported by American dollars and arms, have for five long years been unable to vanquish the people of Viet Nam

who, have liberated 90 percent of their country and have "bottled up" the French troops.

(b) In Malaya, 120,000 British troops have been unable to crush the Malayan people's national liberation army.

(c) In Indonesia, the people's forces are fighting against the Dutch imperialists and the troops of the national traitor clique of Hatta and Soekarno.

(d) In Formosa, while the Chiang Kai-shek regime drowned in blood the people's uprising in 1947, the resistance of Chiang Kai-shek spreads throughout the island with partisan forces rallying support for unification with new China.

(e) In the Philippines, the glorious struggle of the Hukbolahops continues with dogged resistance to rid the country of the corrupt quisling Quirino government, and to wrest true independence from American imperialism.

(f) In Burma, in Africa, in the Near East, and in Latin America as well, the flames of the liberation struggle are spreading rapidly.

3. American imperialism, to unleash its aggressive predatory war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, must suppress the national liberation movements in the colonial world. It has arrogated to itself the right to intervene in every nation and colony in order to drown in blood the people's struggle for independence, to prop up the tottering imperialist colonial structure in order to protect Wall Street's vested interests threatened by the success of the national liberation movement and to substitute "democratic" American-made colonialism for the colonialism of imperial Japan, France, Britain, Holland, and Belgium.

(a) American imperialism camouflages its criminal designs on the colonial people with "altruistic" "humanitarian" point 4 programs to aid backward peoples, for it says we are interested in the "people of Asia, as people," "from whom we do not want to take anything for ourselves" or "deny to them any freedom, any right." (See speech of Acheson on March 15 before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco.)

(b) In ordering military intervention in Korea and in the other countries of the Far East, President Truman attempts to perpetuate the myth that Wall Street is concerned only with the right to independence of the colonial masses now threatened by a "Communist invasion" and has no imperialist aims. Thus in connection with Korea he had the effrontery to state:

"The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war."

Therefore, in order to stem the "Communist menace" the American "liberators" are liberating the Koreans from the Koreans—in order to "liberate" Korea from Wall Street.

(c) Dr. Frank Kingdon, that "great liberal," fortifies this position of the Truman administration when he says:

"Let's get this business of 'imperialism' straight. A nation that intervenes in the affairs of another nation is not necessarily imperialist. It all depends on the kind of intervention.

"If a big nation helps a little nation to keep its independence it is not imperialistic. If a big nation uses a little nation as a pawn in the struggle for power it is. We are in Korea to prevent international communism from swallowing it, and thus to prove to all nations of Asia that we are ready to defend them also.

"This is not imperialism in any sense" (New York Post, July 6).

3. "Stemming the Communist tide" and stopping "Soviet expansionism" is in reality stemming the national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples, who are rising in their new-found strength to sweep out all imperialists, to establish government of their own choosing, to utilize their vast natural resources for the welfare of the people and not for the profits of a handful of billionaires who sit in Wall Street.

(a) To the ruling circles of the United States, and to their imperialist agents in the ranks of the labor movement, all peoples who reject American "benevolence" and the "superior American way of life" and dare to fight for its right to self-determination, are "Communist hordes" obeying the orders of "Soviet imperialism." But Wall Street and its vast propaganda machine has a hard time explaining why it is that not Soviet troops, but American, British, French, Dutch troops, etc., are fighting the colonial peoples in every part of the world. Wall Street, and its vast propaganda machine, cannot explain why the colonial people have not ceased their resistance to welcoming the "gift-bearing Americans",

and why they show no fear of this American-manufactured "Communist menace" which they are asked to check. Wall Street cannot explain why no colonial peoples fight on their side, but continue increasingly to embrace the aims of the liberation movements everywhere. In fact, this puzzles the preachers for American imperialism. Thus, Walter Lippman in the New York Herald Tribune of June 29, writes:

"A measure of the difficulties is that in the disputed areas China, Korea, Formosa, Indochina, Malaya—Soviet influence and power have expanded without the Armed Forces of the U. S. S. R. being committed. On the other hand nowhere on the mainland of far eastern Asia has communism been contained except by committing French, British, or American forces.

"The expansion of the Communist orbit is being carried out by Asiatic forces. The containment of communism involves everywhere European or American forces. Nowhere have the Asiatic and anti-Communists even with western backing, been able to withstand the Asiatic Communists with their Russian backing. Always it is necessary for the westerners to participate in the fighting itself. Yet, never has it been necessary for the Russians to do that."

4. As Gus Hall stated in his speech at Madison Square Garden on July 28, 1950:

"There is no mysterious 'Asiatic blood tie' that turns these peoples toward the Soviet Union as toward the rising sun. In the land of socialism a host of liberated nations and peoples live together in peace and friendship, free from every kind of oppression and racial inequality.

"That is the simple reason why the profit-mad American monopolists and their southern bourbon partners cannot win moral leadership or break the bonds uniting the U. S. S. R. with the freedom-hungry peoples of the world."

(a) The colonial peoples have learned, during the past 30 years, that the Soviet Union, the land of socialism, is the foremost champion of the right to self-determination of the colonial peoples, against imperialist oppression and enslavement, and has shown the path to be taken for the elimination of the exploitation of one nation by another, for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

(b) In Korea the people have had the opportunity of witnessing the liberating role—not only in words but in deeds—of the Soviet troops and the Soviet occupation forces, as contrasted with the enslaving role of American troops and the American military authorities. That is why as a united people they doggedly resist American military intervention.

(c) From the first day of the defeat of Japan in Korea the contrast between the role played by the Soviet Union and that played by American imperialism became clear in the very first orders issued by the two commands of South and North Korea.

In August 1945, the command of the Soviet Army issued the following address to the people of Korea:

"Citizens of Korea! Your country is now free. But this is only the first page in the history of Korea.

"Just as a flowering garden is the result of the work and care of man, happiness also can only be achieved by the heroic struggle and tireless work of the Korean people.

"Citizens of Korea! Remember that happiness lies in your hands! You now have your freedom. Everything now depends upon you, yourselves.

"The Soviet Army has created all the conditions to enable the Korean people to embark upon free creative work.

"You, yourselves, must become the creators of your own happiness."

General MacArthur, however, issued the following order:

"The entire administrative power on the territory of Korea, south of parallel 38, is under my jurisdiction. The population should unreservedly obey the orders issued over my signature. Those acting against the occupation troops or violating order and tranquillity will be merciless and severely punished. For the period of the military occupation, English is introduced as the official language."

VII. The war in Korea greatly increases the danger of the outbreak of world war III and places new responsibilities on all patriotic and peace-loving people in the United States, in the first place, the working class

1. Prevent the outbreak of world war III. Comrade Hall pointed out:

"Not since the end of World War II has the peace of the world been in such grave danger * * * even in this zero hour world war III is not inevitable.

Peace can still be saved * * * through the strength of all peace-loving peoples united in action to stop the warmakers dead in their tracks. That means we Americans must do our part."

(a) With American imperialist forces intervening in the internal affairs of Korea, as well as in all other countries in the Pacific, it is our duty to break through the maze of lies of the bourgeois press, radio, and other propaganda media and show the provocative character of the attack on the Korean people, that responsibility for it rests on American imperialism, and that it is the duty of every American, especially the workers in the shops, in the working-class communities, and the Negro people to speak out in their full wrath, and demand the *immediate* withdrawal of American troops, planes, and ships from Korea and the whole Pacific.

(b) We have to show to the people, by mustering all the facts available, that our American boys are fighting not in the cause of liberation, but that under the guise of "checking a Communist invasion" they have become Wall Street mercenaries to drown in blood the just cause of the millions of oppressed colored peoples rising to establish their independence as the Americans did in 1776. It is because American boys are forced to fight in an unjust war, that they fight alone, hated and despised by the native peoples. The American people must demand that American boys be brought home so that they can live to struggle for democracy and security and not die for the cause of Wall Street.

(c) We have to convince the American workers, Negro and white, that their highest patriotic duty, in the true interest of our Nation and people, in the interest of peace and freedom, is to fight against Wall Street's drive to dominate the whole world, and every measure that it takes toward preparation of its atomic war of destruction.

(d) We have to show the working class that—in keeping with the true spirit of working-class internationalism—they must support the right of the Korean people to establish, without interference, a united democratic nation and select a government of their own choosing. We have to show that the establishment of independent nations in the Pacific, finally free from imperialist enslavement, advances the cause of peace, of social progress. That is why it is the duty and responsibility of the working class to demand: "Hands off Korea. Let the people of Korea determine their own destiny."

2. *Fight to make the UN an instrument of peace, not Wall Street's tool for war.* Comrade Hall pointed out:

"All peace-loving peoples, and in the first place we Americans, should now work to rebuild the UN in the image of its original purpose and Charter. If we succeed in this undertaking, a truly United Nations could end the undeclared war in the Far East, order the withdrawal of all imperialist forces, protect the colonial peoples' right to independence, and exert its full potential influence to avert the catastrophe of an atomic war."

(a) From every nook and corner of the land the demand must be raised to seat in the Security Council the true representatives of the 450,000,000 people of China, and to oust the Kuomintang usurpers who represent nobody but themselves. The seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China would immediately enable the Soviet Union to resume its seat in the Security Council, and thus allow the Council to organize its work legally in accord with the provisions of the UN Charter.

(b) We should urge that the UN place for discussion and action the 10-point program of Trygve Lie, proposed some weeks back, which has been scuttled by American imperialism. This is necessary to advance the cause of peace, and the realization of a pact of peace and friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

3. *Defeat new reactionary assaults on the working class and the Negro people.* Spreading a new wave of war hysteria in the country, the ruling class is preparing to carry through further attacks on the living standards and trade-union rights of labor, intensify its violent assault on the rights of the Negro people, drive through the police-state Mundt-Ferguson bill, and organize further repressive measures against our party and all militant and progressive forces in the country.

(a) It is necessary to alert all working-class and Negro people's organizations to the ominous threat of the passage of the Mundt-Ferguson bill and to bring into action every force concerned with the preservation of the Bill of Rights.

(b) It is necessary to increase *all activities for the freedom of Eugene Dennis*, the foremost champion of peace in the United States, and of all other anti-Fascist prisoners.

(c) It is especially necessary to expand the struggles in defense of the rights of the Negro people, to unfold a movement on a broader scale than ever before for the passage of FEPC and antilynch legislation in this session of Congress.

(d) Finally, it is necessary to alert the workers in the shops and trade-unions to fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and against the cold-war decisions of the Supreme Court upholding section 9H of that act.

4. *Intensify the collection of signatures for the world peace appeal to outlaw atomic weapons, and build peace committees in every shop, trade union, Negro people's organization, in every block and community, in every farming area.*

(a) The growing peace movement throughout the world, the signing of the peace appeal by more than 150,000,000 people, as well as the initial broad response to the peace appeal in the United States, have struck fear in the camp of United States imperialism. That is why the Wall Street press agents have done everything in their power to stop the signature campaign, proclaiming it another "Moscow plot." The developments in Korea are now being used by Wall Street to put a stop to the peace campaign.

(b) Precisely at this moment, as a decisive part of the fight to prevent the outbreak of World War III, it is necessary to intensify a thousandfold the collection of signatures, to raise the campaign for peace to ever new levels.

(c) Every Communist must, in the next few days, collect hundreds of signatures. But that is not enough. Every Communist must convince non-Communist workers with whom he has contact, to go out and collect signatures. The number of signature collectors must be speedily increased—in order to secure the 5,000,000 signatures set as the goal during the next few months.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you another document, which is a photostatic copy, and which contains the heading, "Plan of work for the J. & L. Club for 1947." It is my understanding that this is also one of the documents which was obtained under the provisions of the search warrant executed by the police department of the city of Pittsburgh. Does the "J. & L." appearing therein refer to the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., according to your interpretation of the document?

Mr. CVETIC. I know very definitely that it refers to the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., since I sat in the meeting where this particular report was discussed in 1947. As of that time I was a member of the organizational, educational, and financial committee for the western Pennsylvania district of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., one of the principal points of interest to the Communist Party insofar as industrial concentration is concerned?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would you look at the document and see whether or not it contains any information as to the number of Communist Party members at Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. plants?

Mr. CVETIC. The document states that "at present," referring to 1947, there are 12 members of the Communist Party in the Jones & Laughlin plant.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does the document show the various sections of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. where those members are located?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does the document also outline a plan of recruitment for workers in the Jones & Laughlin steel plants?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you familiar with the identity of any persons employed by Jones & Laughlin who are members of the Communist Party, or who were members of the Communist Party at the time this document was issued in 1947?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. The Communist Party members who were either employed by Jones & Laughlin or who were responsible for carrying on Communist Party activity in the Jones & Laughlin mills are the following:

Sam Reed, a Communist Party organizer for the district of western Pennsylvania, was in charge of the steel concentration work at the Jones & Laughlin mills. Presently Sam Reed is the Communist Party organizer at the General Electric plants in Erie, Pa.

Another member who was responsible for carrying out the directives in this document was Alex Stabor, who was employed in Jones & Laughlin and succeeded in having himself elected as a shop steward at Jones & Laughlin.

Dave Grant, who was the city secretary of the Communist Party of Pittsburgh in 1947, had the over-all responsibility of the steel concentration work at the Jones & Laughlin plant. Dave Grant is presently being used by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania in their activities around the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. in East Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the photostatic copy of this document be introduced into the record as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 84," and that its contents be made a part of the transcript of this hearing.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 84," is as follows:)

PLAN OF WORK FOR THE J. & L. CLUB FOR 1947

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

1. To strengthen the J. & L. locals and the other major unions in district No. 16, through a process of activities involving more and more of the membership in the struggle for the realization of the CIO economic and legislative program.
2. To build a stronger party among the most advanced J. & L. workers and from among the most advanced workers and other sections of the people in the communities adjacent to district No. 16.
3. To build a democratic front of labor, the Negro people, veterans, the nationality groups and middle class sections in the concentration communities around district No. 16; this to be based on the immediate issues and around struggle. This is to be effected by the closest coordination between the J. & L. club, the community clubs on the South Side, the Hill, and Hazelwood, and with the fullest cooperation of the district and city leadership.

HOW TO DEVELOP ACTION TO ACHIEVE GREATER UNITY

1. To give full support to the 14-point program of demands adopted by the wage policy committee of the steel union, and to show the workers that the only sure way to win these demands is to actively prepare to struggle for them.
2. To help develop activities around the CIO legislative program (such as housing, rent control, veteran's needs, health program, FEPC) and to arouse the entire labor and peoples' movement to the threat of antilabor and antidemocratic moves in Congress.
3. To really initiate and develop a broad campaign in J. & L. and in the community for equal rights and opportunities for the Negro people in employment and for national, State, and local FEPC legislation.
4. To give practical assistance to the job of organizing the unorganized steel mills in the district, particularly Mesta Machine.
5. We must help the local labor and progressive community movement to find the best organizational means to develop independent political action and to give backing to such movements as the Progressive Citizens of America, the Conference of Progressives, and such other movements that strive for the greater economic security for the people and for an American democratic policy at home and in foreign relations.

PROGRAM OF PARTY BUILDING

1. Improve and increase the role of our party press as a party builder as well as a mobilizer for struggle—

(a) The membership of the J. & L. Club shall undertake a quota of 50 new Worker readers in 1947.

(b) In consultation with the community concentration clubs, each shall work out its own quota for Worker readers among steel workers.

(c) We shall arrange four major mass distributions of the Worker among the steel workers during 1947 as follows:

1. In January or early February.
2. May Day edition.
3. Labor Day edition.
4. November election edition.

(d) The J. & L. Club shall have a weekly bundle for mailing and sub-getting follow-up. This is to begin at once with a weekly order of 5 copies, to be increased later to 10 copies. Visiting for subs is to be arranged by club members with the aid of comrades from other clubs.

(e) Increase party influence through building up a much larger mailing list of selected people from the mills and community, to be reached with party literature and to otherwise keep in touch with regularly.

(f) Greatly increase the distribution of Marxist pamphlets and popular writings by personal and direct contact with the workers.

(g) The J. & L. Club in close cooperation with the community clubs shall undertake to establish regular delivery routes of the Worker to steel workers in the respective communities.

(h) The club is to hold frequently spaced Sunday house affairs and forums for propaganda purposes for our sympathizers and for the good and welfare within the club.

(i) Each comrade in the J. & L. Club should cultivate a group of the most active, intelligent, and disciplined workers from his shop, department, or union for party building.

(j) The club should work out with the concentration clubs the issuance and distribution of leaflets at the gates where comrades work.

RECRUITING OBJECTIVES

1. We have at present 12 comrades in J. & L. evenly divided between the SS and NS. We must strive to double our membership during 1947 and, if possible, reach that goal by the time of the party's national convention in July.

BP—2; Polishing Mill (NS)—1; 18" Mill—1; Eliza—1; Blooming Mill—1; Open Hearth—1; Labor Force—1; Strip Mill—1.
In addition to the above, our concentration clubs should adopt minimum recruiting objectives during the same period, with special emphasis on Southern Car Wheel, Mesta, Byers and Oliver.

MARXIST EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE CLUB

1. That our club elects an executive of three to constitute the leadership as follows: Chairman, membership secretary, and press director.

2. That the club meets every other Friday with the executive meeting on alternate Fridays (from 7:30 to not later than 10 p. m.)

3. That we adopt a standing order of business as follows:

- (1) Reading of minutes and check-up.
- (2) Educational program.
- (3) Report of executive board and discussion.
- (4) Communications and bills.
- (5) Good and welfare.

4. That we establish a better understanding within the club of the role of our party and the meaning of Communist discipline, and in this manner aim to have well-attended meetings and a 100-percent regular dues payments.

5. That we establish in the club an educational committee which shall have as its major responsibility to plan the educational program at the club meetings and to organize a series of small study groups based on political economy and other phases of Marxism-Leninism.

6. That we aim at having by the end of the year every club member a reader of the Daily Worker and of Political Affairs.

FINANCES IN THE CLUB

1. To meet our obligations to the district organization, to the Daily Worker, and to carry on our own activities, we set out to raise a minimum of \$500 during the year. A small committee should be set up in the club to work out a budget and a program to raise funds through affairs, contributors, raffles, etc., with the objective of raising a minimum monthly quota of \$40.

CONTROL OVER DECISIONS

1. The executive committee should make periodical review of the club activities and report to the membership.

2. In June, during control month, our club should review the activities for the first 6 months and make whatever adjustments are found necessary.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you a photostatic copy of a document entitled "Concentration Plan of Work for the Homestead Shop Club for 1947," and I ask you if you are familiar with the contents of this document and whether you can describe the character of the Homestead Shop Club?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. The Homestead Shop Club, as contained in this document, is the Homestead Shop Club of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. It is the Communist Party cell which is active in the Carnegie (Ill.) Steel mill located at Homestead, Pa. It was under the direct control of Roy Hudson, district organizer of the Communist Party, and the Communist Party member at the Homestead plant responsible for carrying out the directives contained in this document was Elmer Kish, whom I have previously identified before this committee as an organizer for the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania in their steel-concentration activities.

I am familiar with this particular document because it was discussed as a part of the steel-concentration program of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania at several meetings of the organizational, educational, and financial committee of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, of which I was a member. The other members of this committee, on which I served for a period of 3 years, beginning with August 1945 and ending with August 1948, were:

Roy Hudson, district chairman of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania;

Andrea Hudson, membership secretary;

Bessie Murin Steinberg, educational director;

Eleanor Sackter, in charge of steel concentration;

Joe Godfrey, treasurer of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania;

Dave Grant, city secretary;

James Dolsen, newspaper and literature director;

And myself as finance chairman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced in the record of this hearing as "Cvetic exhibit No. 85," and that its contents be reproduced in the transcript.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic exhibit No. 85." is as follows:)

CONCENTRATION PLAN OF WORK FOR THE HOMESTEAD SHOP CLUB
FOR 1947

1. POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

A. Political decision resolved that Homestead shall be one of the two district-wide concentration points in steel work for the whole party in western Pennsylvania.

(a) Political reason is that Homestead is one of the two links in the whole chain that makes up the steel industry that because of its historical and rich traditional background, through its strategic position politically, economically, and working-class organization, it can influence the whole body of links that makes up the chain in steel, and it will play a decisive role in the shaping and directing the course of the formation of a broad anti-Fascist, progressive democratic coalition front in western Pennsylvania.

B. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, must gear itself into the mechanics of the complex make-up of social forces in Homestead and area, so that we can participate and be a part of the people's movement, to influence the course of the movements of the working class and the people, to initiate action on economic, political, and social issues confronting the working class, the Negro people, and the people generally both by independent activity of our Communist organization and through the organizations of the working class, the Negro people, and the people. How can we play a role that will increase the influence of our party, increase the circulation of our press and literature and to educate the working class to the cause of socialism and its historical role to achieve it. To gear ourselves to this work, our plan of work must reflect the following:

(a) The role and responsibilities of our district committee and bureau to concentration work in steel generally and to our shop-club plan of work specifically.

(b) The role of our shop club and its members in relation to carrying out the plan of work.

(c) The role of concentration forces assigned to our shop club to carry on concentration work and aid us in the fulfillment of our political objectives.

(d) The role of the community clubs through coordination of their plan of work with that of our plan of work.

(e) The role of the national groups and forces to coordinate their work with that of our work.

(f) The role of the district organizational department, the district educational department, the research department, to our club.

(g) Special attention to steel concentration work in Negro, veteran, youth, and women.

(h) Steel commission.

(i) Party cultural center—comradeship.

2. THE PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE ON THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE
DISTRICT LEADERSHIP TO OUR CLUB'S PLAN OF WORK

A. The district bureau and through specially assigned forces assumes general political responsibilities to the work of our club.

B. The district bureau and through assigned forces are to assist our club in the everyday application and the execution of our plan of work.

C. The district bureau and through assigned forces to give clarity and political guidance to enable our club to react to the issues of the day. Our club must react to issues in a soberly and practical manner so that we will not trail events and become tails of the kite, and that we shall not advance any struggles that will place us as a head without a body. We must always weigh our decisions with the knowledge of our strength and possibilities and the degree of the readiness of the masses to struggle.

D. The district bureau shall invite the executive committee of our club once every 3 months to its meeting for purposes of checking up on the work done by our club.

E. The district bureau is responsible for the organization of the concentration work and forces done through channels other than our shop club. These forces are to establish relationships through consultation with the shop club chairman and its executive committee.

3. THE ROLE OF OUR SHOP CLUB AND ITS MEMBERS IN CARRYING OUT THE PLAN OF WORK

I. THE STRUCTURE OF OUR SHOP CLUB AND ITS MEETINGS

A. Our shop club is to meet once a week. The night of the meeting shall be Tuesday. Time—8 p. m. sharp.

B. The executive committee to meet on the same night of the club meeting at 7:30 sharp.

C. Our shop club to elect five officers of which three shall constitute an executive committee. The five officers are: club chairman, membership director, educational director, financial secretary, and a literature and press director. The chairman, membership and educational director shall comprise the executive committee. The financial secretary is to work closely with the membership director and the literature and press director is to work closely with the educational director.

D. The agenda for club meetings shall be as follows: (1) Dues collection (10 minutes); (2) reading of minutes and check-up on decisions (15 minutes); (3) report of executive committee followed by discussion (60 minutes); (4) new members and recruiting (5 minutes); (5) club education (60 minutes). Adjournment at 10:30 p. m. The club must strictly adhere and cooperate to carry out this agenda.

E. The membership director shall act as chairman at meeting when the regular chairman is absent.

II. THE ROLE OF OUR CLUB TO ESTABLISH ITS POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP AS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION WITH THE WORKERS IN THE SHOP AND IN THE COMMUNITY

A. Our club to strive to have a mailing list of 100 workers in the next 6 months. That once a month we mail them a copy of the Worker and a copy of the pamphlet of the month.

B. That the members of our club be assigned to establish political contact with the most political reliable contacts for visiting purposes. The members are always to have in their possession subscription blanks for our press, a copy of the press, and literature when visiting these contacts. All other contacts to be given over to the concentration forces assigned to our territory.

C. The members of our club to participate in the sale and distribution of the Worker on May 1 and Labor Day editions on a mass scale.

D. Our club to hold an educational and political social affair once every 6 weeks at which the contacts are invited to attend. We should center these affairs around the occasions as May 1, our party anniversary and the celebration of the Socialist Revolution. We should now begin to prepare to arrange an affair around the anniversary of Karl Marx and the Communist Manifesto in March.

E. Our club to pledge to get — subs for the Worker in the next 6 months.

F. Our club pledge to get — recruits in the next 6 months.

III. THE ROLE OF OUR SHOP CLUB MEMBERS, IN THE SHOP, WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS, AND ALL OTHER PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

A. The club shall have full knowledge of all organizations our members are affiliated with.

B. In all genuine workers' and people's organizations our comrades should display themselves as loyal and as the best fighters for their organizations. We should become involved in the day-to-day activities of these organizations.

C. Our club should be aware to all issues—economic, legislative, political, and social. Learn to react on these issues so that the workers' and the people's movement will develop around these issues. For example, how can we effectuate an FEPC movement? How can we best advance a movement on a legislative program (housing, against inflation, Negro rights, and the defense of the gains made by labor)? How can we contribute to the coming struggles on the wage demands? We must always keep in mind that the labor movement must assume leadership in these struggles.

D. Our club to work in the manner that will enable the bringing the rapid development of the independent political action of labor and the progressive forces. In what manner can we advance the development of a broad labor and progressive democratic coalition front.

E. We should urge all our members to become members of mass organizations.

IV. THE ROLE OF OUR SHOP CLUB IN EDUCATION OF OUR MEMBERS TO BECOME BETTER COMMUNISTS AND OUR TASKS IN THE TRAINING OF LEADERSHIP

A. Our club shall continue its present educational program conducted in club meetings.

B. Our club to stress the need for self-study. At club meetings to have available the basic works of Marxism-Leninism, the literature dealing with the decisions and the program of action of our national committee. The members should be urged to buy and possess these pieces of literature.

C. Our club to organize a system whereby new members are visited for purpose of speeding the active participation of these new members in the carrying out of the work of the club.

D. Our club to organize a series of week-end classes for purpose of training club leadership.

E. Our club to prepare now to organize this summer's vacations of our comrades that wherever possible to have a 2-week class for some of the members and a 1-week class for others.

V. OUR SHOP CLUB AND FINANCES

A. Our club to assure that at no time shall any of our members be more than 3 months in arrears in their dues.

B. That our club pledge to raise \$500 this year for our operating fund, for our contribution to the Daily Worker and our obligation to the district party organization.

C. To help our club to realize this quota we should organize a financial system whereby \$40 a month will be raised.

The following can be organized:

(a) A club sustaining fund, this fund to be established through voluntary contributions from members and sympathizers.

(b) A day's pay contribution by all members for the Worker and the Daily Worker.

(c) By the regular holding of house parties.

(d) By holding raffles and offering the basic works of Marxism-Leninism as prizes.

3. THE ROLE OF CONCENTRATION FORCES ASSIGNED TO THE WORK OF OUR PLAN OF WORK

A. These forces through voluntary and special assignment will distribute leaflets, pamphlets, and the Worker at the plant gate.

B. These forces will assist our club in the general distribution that will take place on the community scale.

C. These forces will aid our club in the visiting of our contacts.

4. THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY PARTY CLUBS AND THEIR COORDINATION OF WORK WITH OUR PLAN OF WORK

A. This phase of work will have to be developed in the light of the absence of any community clubs in Homestead and area.

B. Rightfully we have members in our shop club that should properly be members of a community club. However we should not now decide that these members be transferred to a community club. At this time to do this would weaken our work instead of strengthening it. We should have it established that in due time this transfer will take place.

C. The community clubs in the county and city will aid our club in visiting workers that work in Homestead and live in the vicinity of those community clubs.

D. We should have a system whereby those members of the party working in other shops and not members of active clubs should be invited to attend meetings of our club. This will enable these members to keep abreast with the active work of our party.

5. THE ROLE OF NATIONAL GROUP FORCES AND OUR CONCENTRATION WORK

A. The Homestead area the Slav people constitute half of the total population. Great possibilities exist to work among these people to influence them to play an active role in the building of the broad labor-progressive-democratic coalition front.

B. In Homestead is located the seat of reactionary, profascist organs and organizations of the Slavonic people. Our party and the progressive forces have a great task to overcome the influence and effects these organizations have over the Slav people.

C. The national group forces possess a great asset to aid our club in playing a role among the Slav people. The events and developments in the Slavic countries in Europe are of great historical importance. It must be mastered of how to convey these events to the Slav people in Homestead and area.

6. THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONAL DEPARTMENT, THE DISTRICT EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, AND THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT TO OUR CLUB

A. The district organizational department:

(a) Close relationship to be established between the district organizational department and our shop club, its membership director and its financial and dues secretary.

(b) Efforts to be made to train the membership director and the financial and dues secretary of enabling them to fulfill their functions.

(c) The district organizational department to show an active interest in the personnel problems of our club. To step in when any members of the club are beginning to show signs of becoming disinterested.

B. The district educational department:

(a) This department to display an active interest in the educational program of our shop club.

(b) This department to work in close relation with the educational director of our shop club. To train him to function as an educational director and to assist him in carrying the educational program of our club.

(c) This department to develop an educational program of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism with steel as a background.

(d) This department to work closely in directing and assisting the literature and press director of our club.

C. The district research department:

(a) This department to commence work on enabling our shop club to be equipped with a minimum of knowledge of the history and background of the people and the working class in our area, its rich struggles that we can draw lessons from. To begin to use basic understanding on the physical make-up of the steel industry, economically, politically, financially, organizationally (monopoly on one hand and the organization of the steel workers on the others).

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you a photostatic copy of another document, entitled "Bylaws of the Western Pennsylvania District of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," and ask if that was one of the documents obtained under the provisions of the search warrant previously mentioned?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced into the record as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 86," and that its contents be made a part of the transcript of this hearing.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 86," is as follows:)

BYLAWS OF THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A.

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party, Western Pennsylvania District, having been formed at a Convention called for the purpose of establishing a District Organization of the Communist Party and having accepted the Constitution and preamble of the Communist Party, U. S. A., adopted at the National Convention July 28, 1945, does not hereby adopt these Bylaws in accordance with the provisions of that Constitution.

ARTICLE I. NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party, U. S. A., Western Pennsylvania District.

ARTICLE II. ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. This organization shall comprise all clubs of the Communist Party organized in and carrying on activities in Western Pennsylvania.

SEC. 2. All such clubs, now existing or which may hereafter be formed, shall be chartered by the District Committee, which shall determine jurisdiction of such clubs.

ARTICLE III. LOCAL ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party is the Club, which shall be organized on the basis of a community, township, city, rural community or shop basis.

SEC. 2. The officers and executive committee shall be elected each year by the membership by secret ballot. Except for newly organized clubs, those elections shall take place in January of each year.

SEC. 3. The clubs shall meet at least twice monthly and shall establish Executive Committees to function continuously and develop activities under the direction of the Executive Committee. Those committees shall include an Educational Committee and a Membership Committee.

SEC. 4. Every club shall have the following minimum number of officers: President, Secretary and Treasurer. Those officers shall be members of the Club Executive Committee, the size of which shall be determined by the various clubs. The club shall decide on whatever additional officers it needs.

SEC. 5. Subdivisions of the District such as County, City, or Section Organizations shall be composed of all clubs within the subdivisions.

SEC. 6. The subdivision Council shall be the highest body within the subdivision and shall be composed of representatives from all clubs elected at regular club meetings by majority vote, the basis of representation to be determined by the Council, except for newly organized subdivisions, where the representation shall be decided by the District Committee in consultation with the clubs concerned.

ARTICLE IV. DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

SEC. 1. The District Convention is the highest body of this organization. It shall convene annually and shall be composed of delegates elected by the clubs chartered by the District Committee. Delegates shall be elected on the basis of the numerical strength of the clubs, the basis to be determined by the District Committee.

SEC. 2. The District Committee shall be elected by secret ballot and majority vote of the District Convention and shall have the responsibility of carrying out the Convention decisions and directing the activities of the Party until the next Convention. The number of members of the District Committee shall be determined by the District Convention.

SEC. 3. To be eligible for election to the District Committee, a member shall have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing, for at least two years.

SEC. 4. A member of the District Committee absent for two consecutive meetings without sufficient reason that is acceptable to the Committee, shall cease to be a member of the District Committee. The District Committee shall be authorized to elect replacements for such vacancies, or vacancies caused by deaths, illness, transfers, etc., keeping in mind the balanced composition of the Committee. The clubs shall be notified of all such changes in the Committee.

SEC. 5. The majority of the members of the District Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 6. The District Committee represents the Party in the District and has the authority to make decisions on any problem facing the District between Conventions. The District Committee organizes and supervises the various departments and committees, conducts the organizational and educational work of the Party, establishes and charters all necessary subdivisions such as County, City or Section organizations, and administers the District treasury.

SEC. 7. Special District Conventions may be called by majority vote of the District Committee or by written request of Clubs representing one-third of the membership of the District.

SEC. 8. The District Committee shall meet at least once every two months and shall keep regular minutes of its proceedings. A summary of those minutes shall be furnished promptly to each club.

SEC. 9. A District Board shall be elected by the District Committee from among its members, the number to be determined by the District Committee. The Board shall carry out the decisions and work of the District Committee between meetings and shall be responsible to the District Committee for all its actions and decisions. The District Board shall decide on the frequency of its meetings. The District Committee shall elect a chairman and such other officers as it decides are necessary. Those shall all be responsible to the District Committee and may be replaced or removed by a majority vote of the District Committee.

ARTICLE V. FINANCES

SEC. 1. The District, County, Club or any other organized subdivisions of the Communist Party shall have regular audits of their financial transactions for each calendar half-year and shall submit those financial reports to their membership.

Local organizations of the Communist Party, whether club or Subdivision, shall furnish a copy of each financial report to the District Committee and the District Committee shall furnish copies of its financial report to each Club and subdivision of the Communist Party.

SEC. 2. Membership dues shall be the same as those for the organization nationally as provided in the National Constitution. The dues shall be divided as follows: 20 percent to the club, 10 percent to the County or other local subdivision, 20 percent to the District and 50 percent to the National Office.

ARTICLE VI. AMENDMENTS

These Bylaws may be amended by majority vote of any regular or special District Convention or by majority vote of the District Committee between Conventions.

ARTICLE VII. CONSTITUTION AND DISTRICT BY-LAWS

It shall be the responsibility of the District Committee to see that every member of this organization shall have copies of the National Constitution and the District Bylaws.

ARTICLE VIII. LOCAL BY-LAWS

Local clubs and subdivision organizations of the Communist Party may establish Bylaws in conformity with the National Constitution and District Bylaws. Adopted: August 19, 1945.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you a photostatic copy of a document dated August 10, 1950, from the national office of the Communist Party of the United States, signed by Joe Brandt, for the defense committee, and ask if this is also one of the documents obtained under the provisions of the search warrant previously mentioned in this hearing?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced into the record as Cvetic exhibit No. 87, and that its contents be made a part of the transcript of this hearing.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 87," is as follows:

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.,
NATIONAL OFFICE,
New York, N. Y., August 10, 1950.

To All Districts:

DEAR COMRADES: A few days ago you received from the national office a memo dealing with the special campaign for \$200,000 in defense of our party and its leaders. The national defense committee, discussing in what way they can help

is this campaign, has made the following suggestion to the national secretariat, which was accepted.

In order to carry on the various legal fights in the case of the 11, we were forced to print certain legal documents, briefs, and the record of the trial. The cost of printing these documents has run into tens of thousands of dollars. In the course of printing these documents, we found that it would cost just as much for us to print a few thousands more than the number required by the courts and the Government. We, therefore, have now at our disposal 2,000 copies of the main brief presented before the circuit court of appeals, selling for \$3, and 4,000 copies of the brief on the jury challenge presented to the same court selling for \$1. We also have at our disposal 200 sets of the record of the entire trial, comprising 21 volumes to a set, which sells at \$300. These three documents are of historical value not alone to the members of the legal professions but to all people interested in the struggle for democratic rights in America. Especially is this true of law libraries, public libraries, law offices, civil-rights organizations, liberals, professionals, and trade-union leaders interested in the struggle for civil, constitutional, and democratic liberties. Within a short period of time, these documents will be in great demand.

These documents cannot be gotten anywhere at the moment and they cannot be reprinted unless they are printed in quantity since the cost of printing is very high. This is especially true of the trial which has over 24,000 words in 21 volumes, and only 210 sets are on sale. The other 96 sets that were printed have been disposed of in accordance with the requirements of the courts and our attorneys.

The defense committee, therefore, has made the following suggestion, and we wish to present it to each district: that you undertake to sell as many of these printed legal documents as possible, the proceeds to go toward your quota in the \$200,000 fund drive. We have already had experience of individuals paying for a set of the trial record to be placed in libraries, and other individuals buying the brief, rather than making an outright contribution, and mailing these briefs to interested parties.

The national secretariat, in agreeing to this suggestion from the defense committee, however, qualified this proposal with the request that these documents not be sent to the districts, except a sample of the brief and challenge to the jury (which you have already received) in advance; that the districts instead either buy from us for cash any number of those documents, sell them, and we will credit that to your quota on the fund drive, or else that you get commitments from individuals who are interested, and we will mail it to them c. o. d.

In addition to the financial help which can be gotten from the sale of these documents, it is also important to bring these documents to as many people as possible in order to acquaint them with the issues involved in the case of the 11.

Please discuss this matter in your leading committees and inform us as soon as possible whether or not your district will take advantage of this proposal to help you raise your quota in the fund drive.

Comradely yours,

JOE BRANDT

(For the Defense Committee).

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you a photostatic copy of a document dated August 9, 1950, on the letterhead of the national office of the Communist Party of the United States, addressed to all districts, and signed by Gus Hall for the national secretariat and Betty Gannett for the National Youth Commission, and ask you if this is one of the documents obtained under the provisions of the search warrant executed by the Pittsburgh Police Department?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. That document pertains to the Labor Youth League; does it not?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe you have previously testified to the Communist character of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. The Labor Youth League is the Communist Party youth organization which replaced the American Youth for Democracy, which, in turn, replaced the Young Communist League.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced in the record of this hearing and that its contents be copied into the transcript as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 88."

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 88," is as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.,
NATIONAL OFFICE,
New York, N. Y., August 9, 1950.

To All Districts:

DEAR COMRADES: As you may already know, the Labor Youth League will hold its first national convention in the city of New York, September 1-4. The 14 months that have elapsed since the organizing conference of the LYL fully bear out the correctness in launching the LYL as an advanced youth organization dedicated to the defense of the interests of the young generation, educating the youth in the spirit of marxism, in the ideas of socialism.

In the past 14 months the LYL has shown its capacity to give leadership to large sections of the youth around their economic needs, for the rights of the Negro youth, and especially in the fight for peace and freedom. As a result it has attracted many thousands of young militants, Negro and white, and it has made some significant advances in securing the adherence of young workers from industry. It has played a significant role in stimulating unity of action in many centers throughout the country of young people and their organizations, and it recognizes that the fight to unite the young generation against war and fascism is paramount to prevent the Hitlerite brutalization of the American youth.

This convention of the LYL is of great significance and merits the support of all advanced fighters for peace, especially that of our party. For this convention will not only summarize the issues confronting the youth at this moment in our country's history, but it will map out the responsibilities of the LYL in the fight to prevent world war III, against the ideological poisoning of the minds of America's youth with national chauvinism and jingoism, and advance a program that can protect the lives and the future of America's youth. It will also spell out how to further build the LYL, train new youth leaders, extend the circulation of its splendid publication, Challenge.

There is no doubt that the keenest interest must be displayed by the party leadership and membership in the deliberations of this convention, and that its decisions become the property of the party as a whole.

For this reason, we want to recommend a number of steps that should be taken now to help popularize this convention in the ranks of our party and to express our fraternal solidarity with the youth.

1. Under separate cover we are sending you some discussion material issued by the LYL which should become the property of at least the active personnel of our party.

2. That you have a complete review of the status of youth work in your State within the next few weeks.

3. That you discuss forms of greeting the LYL convention and consider utilizing the fraternal greetings subscription to Challenge by individuals, clubs, sections, and State committees.

4. That you made preparations now for a meeting of your State committee to receive a report of this convention, with the objective of improving in an all-sided way the party's leadership to youth work, the strengthening of State youth commissions, etc.

Comradely yours,

GUS HALL
(For the National Secretariat).
BETTY GANNETT
(For the National Youth Commission).

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you a photostatic copy of a document headed "Memorandum on deportation and Justice Department policy," and ask you if it is also one of the documents obtained at the time of the execution of the search warrant mentioned herein?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you familiar with the contents of that document?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Could you identify the person who prepared that document?

Mr. CVETIC. I have seen a similar document which was prepared by Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, and whom I have previously identified before this committee as a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced in the record of this hearing as Cvetic exhibit No. 89, and I ask that its contents be made a part of the transcript.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 89," is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM ON DEPORTATION AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT POLICY

Since the end of the war, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has launched a campaign of repression against noncitizens who are guilty of technical violation of the immigration laws.

In many instances, the Justice Department refuses to use the discretion it is authorized to use under the law and insists on prosecuting noncitizens. Noncitizens who are active in the progressive political and labor movement have been selected for special arbitrary treatment. A few of these cases are:

STEVE TANDARIC: A veteran of the International Brigades, charter member of the United Steelworkers of America, Local 1010, in Indiana, Steve Tandaric came to the United States from Yugoslavia in 1911. In 1937 he went to Spain and reentered the United States illegally in 1939. Because of his labor activities, he was blacklisted by employers and was unable to secure employment in the steel mills. Therefore, he assumed an alias and, in filling out a questionnaire in a war plant in 1942, answered the question, "Where were you born?" by saying "Chicago." In August 1944 Tandaric applied for citizenship and voluntarily made a full report of his life history. In September 1944 he was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to 2 years for saying he was born in Chicago. In October 1944 he was served with a deportation warrant for entering the country illegally in 1939. Tandaric is at present serving his 2-year term in the Federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Ind. An application for Tandaric's parole, for which he was eligible in November 1946, has just been denied by the Justice Department.

JOHN NABESHKA came to the United States from Russia in 1912. He is married to an American citizen and is the father of two American-born children. He was arrested in June 1946 at 9 a. m. at his place of work and held for deportation to the Soviet Union on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party. Nabeshka is a leader of the United Shoe Workers Union in Lynn, Mass. His arrest at his place of work was unnecessary and carried out as an antilabor measure. The Justice Department knows that it cannot deport Nabeshka since the Soviet Union refuses to accept any deportee who left that country before 1918. Nabeshka, meanwhile, is free on \$500 bail.

EMANUEL PITHAROULIS is secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions. He has been assigned by his union to represent it in the United States and to protect the rights of Greek seamen in this country. The Justice Department has repeatedly refused to extend Pitharoulis' stay here and is constantly seeking to force his departure from the United States. Protests by trade unions and other organizations has so far forced the Justice Department to permit Pitharoulis to remain for another 6 months. His stay here will now terminate in March 1947.

JOE WEBER was brought to the United States from Yugoslavia at the age of 9 in 1913. For 25 years he worked to organize coal miners, machinists, shoe workers, steel workers, and farm-equipment workers. Weber had been led to believe that he was an American citizen on the basis of his father's naturalization. However, after his father died in 1943, he found out that his father had never become an American citizen. Last year, during the strike of farm-equip-

ment workers; Joe Weber was indicted for having claimed to be an American citizen. At the same time, deportation proceedings were started against him on the ground that, in 1939, while attending a convention of the Farm Equipment Workers Union in San Francisco, he went across the border to Caliente for a 4-hour visit and, thereby, reentered the country illegally.

PETER HARISSADES faces deportation to Greece on the ground of his former membership in the Communist Party. A special statement on this case is attached. (Attachment not a part of subpoenaed document.)

JANUARY 20, 1947.

Mr. RUSSELL. I show you a photostatic copy of a document entitled "Memorandum of the State Review Commission," which contains the subheading "Regarding the need for increased vigilance in combatting the attacks of the FBI on the democratic rights of Communists and all Progressives." I ask you if you are familiar with the contents of this document and whether or not it was one of the documents obtained under the provisions of the search warrant mentioned previously during the course of this hearing?

Mr. CVETIC. I am familiar with the contents of this document, which was obtained under the search warrant from a desk in Steve Nelson's office in the Communist Party headquarters in Pittsburgh.

Mr. RUSSELL. This document pertains to the Communist Party feeling regarding the Federal Bureau of Investigation, does it not?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. This document also outlines the strategy and methods to be employed by Communists when they are approached by FBI agents, as well as what to do when a Communist is served with a subpoena, a search warrant, or a warrant of arrest, does it not?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I note that on page 2 of this document you are referred to as a "spy" by the Communist Party, along with a person named Nicodemus and Angela Calomiris. Calomiris is referred to as one of the Government spies, which would indicate that the Communist Party considers the Government of the United States as an alien body to it, and particularly does this seem so when we read on pages 4 and 5 of the document that the Communist Party regards informants within its ranks as "enemy agents."

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced in the record as Cvetic exhibit No. 90, and that its contents be made a part of the transcript of this hearing.

Mr. Wood. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 90," is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM OF THE STATE REVIEW COMMISSION REGARDING THE NEED FOR INCREASED VIGILANCE IN COMBATING THE ATTACKS OF THE FBI ON THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF COMMUNISTS AND ALL PROGRESSIVES

In the face of the ever-growing sentiment and movement among the American people for American-Soviet negotiations to ban and A- and H-bombs, to end the cold war and prevent the outbreak of a shooting war, Wall Street has stepped up its offensive against democratic liberties here at home. This is in line with Secretary of State Acheson's call for "total diplomacy." It reflects the weakness and desperation of American imperialism in view of the unmistakable strength of the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism. Big business is determined to silence every advocate of peace, to stifle the rising struggles of American labor,

and the Negro people. This explains the frantic activities of the FBI as a major-spearhead of reaction's offensive against the democratic rights of all Americans.

It has become a matter of public knowledge, openly admitted and boasted about, that the FBI has over many years engaged in the practice of sending its spies into the ranks of the Communist Party and various progressive organizations. The purposes of these nefarious activities are: (1) to compile lists of names for harrassment and punitive actions; (2) to sow confusion, dissension, and factionalism within the party and instill lack of confidence in the party's leadership and its policies; and (3) to facilitate reaction's efforts to illegalize the Communist Party and ban all progressive movements.

The activities of the FBI are not confined to Communist or so-called left organizations. It has compiled lists and records of individuals and organizations who have in the past or at present shown the slightest signs of liberalism, who have even in the mildest manner shown some enthusiasm for the New Deal. This includes individuals and organizations from among labor, from among the Negro people, from among the ranks of scientists, teachers, artists, and in all professional fields. This governmental Gestapo represents one of the most important agencies for the intimidation and persecution of all Americans who stand for peace and are opposed to fascism.

The testimony of Raymond P. Whearty, Acting Assistant Attorney General, connected with the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, before a congressional subcommittee, shows how far-reaching are the activities of the FBI and the threat they pose for the very existence of American democracy. He admitted that the FBI has 21,105 cases pending of individuals accused of "subversive" activities. He divides this number into two categories—some 12,000 cases that the FBI is ready to have prosecuted, depending only on the outcome of an eventual appeal to the Supreme Court regarding the Foley Square verdict; and another 9,000 or so which the FBI holds in abeyance for the moment, since they are reluctant to reveal their stool-pigeon witnesses in a courtroom.

These activities of the FBI coincide with, and are an integral part of, the drive of reaction to pass the Fascist Mundt-Nixon bill. It is likewise in line with the announcement of the House Un-American Activities Committee that it is undertaking the publication of a bible of so-called subversives which they estimate will include 1,000,000 names.

A recent example from Lancaster, Pa., shows the true role and danger to the labor movement from the activities of the FBI. The FBI, with the connivance of the RCA corporation, had a member of UE Local 124 brought from her job into one of the company's offices, where she was grilled and threatened by an FBI agent, in an effort to have her become an informer against her fellow-unionists.

A very noticeable feature of the work of the FBI is that they particularly speeded the process of sending stool pigeons into the ranks of the Communist Party and other progressive organizations during the period of the American-Soviet-British-Alliance to smash Nazi Germany and Fascist Japan. This was at a time when thousands of American Communists were sacrificing their lives on the battlefields in defense of our country and its people. This also was the period in which the FBI showed a lack of enthusiasm for ferreting out and prosecuting Nazi supporters and saboteurs of the Nation's war effort, numbers of whom were to be found in leading industrial and political circles. Angela Calomiris, one of the Government spies who testified for the prosecution in the Foley Square trial, admitted that she was first approached to become an FBI agent a little over 2 months after the United States entered the war and fought together with the Soviet Union and other countries to defeat Nazi Germany. Matt Cvetic of Pittsburgh has admitted he joined the Communist Party as an FBI spy in February 1943.

The FBI has become increasingly powerful in the past few years, operating like a giant octopus whose tentacles stretch out to all parts of the country. It not only has a whole network of agents operating from some 50 offices throughout the country, but coordinates and centralizes the information gathered in by-stool-pigeon set-ups of local and State police departments, corporations, various reactionary-led organizations, certain labor bureaucrats, etc. Here in Chicago it receives invaluable aid from both the red squad and the labor detail of the Chicago police department. While it is an agency within the Department of Justice, it has unusual powers, acting as a law unto itself; even holding a club over the heads of all other governmental bodies. A move has been on foot for some time to extend further its powers by converting the FBI into a separate, independent department outside of the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.

How extensive have been the activities of the FBI can be gleaned from the following few facts:

1. The funds allotted to the FBI have increased immeasurably over the years. Its budgetary request for 1951 is \$57,400,000. With these funds, it intends to increase its staff to 11,019 of which 4,602 are FBI agents. Of the total of 925 additional personnel requested by the Department of Justice, 702 are for the FBI. In addition to its regular agents, the FBI enlists the services of large numbers of individuals as informers and agrees to pay their expenses—often people involved in various crimes and for who the FBI promises protection for services rendered to it (examples—the spies Nicodemus, Cvetic, etc.).

2. Since 1924, when the Fingerprint Division of the FBI was established, the number of fingerprints on record grew from 810,188 to 113,057,485. Only a small part of these are of criminals (93,415,550 are noncriminal). During the year of 1949 alone, over 3½ million prints were received.

3. Under the Loyalty Act, 3,000,000 Government employees and job applicants have been investigated. Questions were raised about 11,619 people. The FBI claims that evidence warranted a study of some 7,342 of these. A number of these people have been dismissed or harassed to the point where they themselves quit.

4. It is an acknowledged fact that the FBI illegally engages in wire-tapping, rifling of mails, and other forms of snooping.

5. Its agents are secured from among college and university graduates who have specialized either in law or as accountants. Each agent is in charge of 14 cases on the average, being assigned to collect information upon each case.

Here in Chicago, as elsewhere throughout the United States, FBI agents have engaged in snooping under the guise of hunting for "subversives." Usually the practice has been to visit neighbors or janitors and inquire about the personal lives and habits, the political opinions, and the general activities of progressives living in the given building. There have been cases where FBI agents have approached janitors and demanded of them that they gather up regularly and turn over to the FBI, all newspapers, letters, communications, documents, and other material that the given progressive throws into the garbage. In some cases, FBI agents have visited employers or relatives seeking additional information about given progressives. There are instances where FBI agents have phoned or visited homes of progressives under false pretenses (posing as representatives of insurance firms, credit houses, etc.) in order to inquire into the personal lives and connections of individuals.

Although this is not a general practice, in several cases, FBI agents have come directly to the homes of progressives, shown their badge of identification, sought entrance in order to grill the individual and to look around or search the premises. These activities of the FBI are in complete violation of the law. The Constitution of the United States states:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue not upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." (Article IV, Bill of Rights to the United States Constitution.)

In accordance with the above, and after due consultation with lawyers well-versed on issues associated with civil liberties, Communists and all progressives who are approached by FBI agents, no matter what the circumstances, are advised to conduct themselves as follows:

1. **DO NOT TALK.** You are not compelled to talk, to answer questions. Don't try to outsmart them by engaging in discussion or answering questions, no matter how innocently this may appear. Be under no illusions that you can create sympathy or understanding. You will get in no trouble if you don't talk—you may unwittingly fall into a trap if you do talk.

2. **PERMIT NO OFFICER OR FBI AGENT TO ENTER YOUR HOME UNLESS HE PRESENTS A SEARCH WARRANT.** If he should ring the bell or knock on your door, step outside your door entrance and see him in the hallway. If he should have a search warrant, be sure to read it over carefully to make sure it is an appropriate document and that it specifies the purposes and nature of things to be searched, before such officer or agent is admitted. Search warrants are only issued under a court signature and seal.

3. **FOR PURPOSES OF ARREST, OFFICER OR AGENT MUST PRESENT A WARRANT FOR ARREST.** Such a warrant does not require you to admit the officer or agent into your home.

4. GO NO PLACE WITH ANY PERSON WHO DOES NOT HAVE A WARRANT FOR YOUR ARREST. Do not voluntarily agree to go to the police station or FBI headquarters, and so forth.

5. A SUBPENA SERVED ON YOU DOES NOT MEAN YOU MUST ACCOMPANY PERSON SERVING SAME OR SURRENDER TO HIM ANY DOCUMENTS OR MATERIAL. All you need do is accept it. A subpoena will indicate *when* and *where* you are to appear or *when* and *where* you are to produce certain documents, records, or other material.

6. CONTACT THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS AND ITS LAWYERS: At the earliest possible moment, call or contact the Civil Rights Congress, so that you may be properly advised as to your rights and receive necessary counsel. It is imperative that the rights accorded citizens under the Constitution be rigidly insisted upon.

* * * * *

This memorandum of the State Review Commission on the activities of the FBI has been issued in order to alert all Communists and progressive-minded individuals and organizations to the serious menace to democratic liberties contained in the spying, harassment, intimidation, and persecution carried on by this American version of a super-Gestapo.

The fact that the FBI is especially concerned with destroying the Communist Party is itself a tribute to the fact that our party is the vanguard of the struggle for peace, in defense of the rights of labor and the Negro people, against the growing threat of fascism. Its efforts to cause harm to our party can be defeated, providing:

1. We publicly unmask the FBI as an instrument of reaction, alert the American people to the danger from this source, and help to forge the broadest united front of struggle against its Fascist-like activities.

2. We develop within our party the utmost vigilance among our entire membership, in all party clubs and sections, in all party committees and among those entrusted with party leadership.

The development of the necessary vigilance in our ranks, which has nothing in common with being hysterical or panicky, will make it difficult for enemy agents to worm themselves into our party and into positions of responsibility and help detect and render harmless those who may have been sent in already. Among other things, vigilance requires:

1. Raising the political and ideological level of understanding of our entire party membership and developing a resolute struggle for the line of our party.

2. Pursuing a Bolshevik approach to the development and promotion of forces for leadership, especially from among workers and Negroes, based on the criteria so well formulated by Dimitroff in 1935.

3. Developing a greater knowledge by the leadership of all our members with the view of combating and eliminating weaklings, opportunists, careerists, and degenerates who may have at one time or another found their way into our ranks.

4. A consistent struggle for those Leninist principles of party organization: inner party democracy; criticism and self-criticism; democratic centralism; discipline and upholding of party unity; combating bureaucracy and all expressions of factionalism; vigorous opposition to all forms of opportunism and deviation from the line of the party.

5. While at all times working to recruit and build our party as the highest form of working class organization, as the vanguard of the working class and all oppressed, at the same time it is necessary that there be a knowledge of the background and present-day activities and characteristics of all proposed for membership. All possible recruits should be discussed by the branch or its leadership and be approved before admittance into the party.

6. An uncompromising struggle must be waged against impermissible loose talk and gossip; against building up of membership lists and bandying about of names in complete disregard of the times we live in; against unwise use of telephones and mail as a substitute for direct, personal contact; against sloppy methods of work and failure to check on fulfillment of decisions. The latter point is of extreme importance. Proper check-up strengthens the party and helps correct weaknesses. Failure to check up often serves as a convenient cloak behind which enemy agents cover themselves.

The past few years especially have demonstrated that our party and its members have stood firm, have weathered every attack of the enemy unflinchingly. We can confidently face the future, despite the fact that the road ahead may

be strewn with new challenges, new difficulties, new attacks. We know that American imperialism is desperate—it is frantic. It raves and rages—not out of strength, but out of weakness. To the extent that we build the broadest united front of struggle for peace, democracy, security, and progress—to the extent that we build and strengthen our party, broaden its influence and its ties with the people, in the first place, with labor and the Negro people—to that extent can and will the drive of monopoly capital toward war and fascism be upset and defeated.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, I show you a photostatic copy of a document which contains the addresses of the various Communist Party headquarters in the United States, as well as the name of the person who is the principal officer of the Communist Party in the various regions of the United States. I ask you if this is also one of the documents secured under the provisions of the search warrant previously mentioned in this hearing?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir. This was obtained under the search warrant from a drawer in Steve Nelson's desk.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Cvetic, could you tell us whether or not there have been any changes made in the various secretaries and chairmen whose names appear on this list, by the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. I know that in the district of western Pennsylvania, William Albertson was removed as secretary and transferred to Detroit, Mich., and was replaced by a Communist Party member who was transferred to Pittsburgh from Brooklyn, N. Y. The new secretary's name is in the hands of the city detectives of Pittsburgh and can be obtained by this committee from that source.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I request that this document be introduced in the record of this hearing as Cvetic exhibit No. 91, and that its contents be made a part of the transcript.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 91," is as follows:)

1. New England: 80 Boylston Street, room 546, Boston, 16, Mass. Manny Blum, chairman; Dave Rosenberg, secretary.
2. New York: 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y. Robert Thompson, chairman; William Norman, secretary.
3. Eastern Pennsylvania: 250 South Broad Street, room 710, Philadelphia, Pa. Philip Bart, chairman; Bob Klonsky, secretary.
4. Maryland-District of Columbia: 220 North Liberty Street, Baltimore 1, Md. Phil Frankfeld, chairman; George Meyers, labor secretary.
Washington, D. C.: 527 Ninth Street NW., room 301, Washington, D. C. Roy Wood.
5. Western Pennsylvania: 417 Grant Street, room 426, Pittsburgh 19, Pa. Steve Nelson, chairman; William Albertson, secretary; Andy Onda, labor secretary.
6. Ohio: 1426 West Third Street, room 203, Cleveland, Ohio. Martin Chancey, organization secretary; Joe Brandt, labor secretary.
7. Michigan: 900 Lawyers Building, Detroit 26, Mich. Saul Wellman, acting chairman; Tom Dennis, acting organization secretary.
8. Illinois: 208 North Wells Street, room 201, Chicago, Ill. Claude Lightfoot.
9. Minnesota: Post-office box 714, Minneapolis, Minn. Martin Mackie, chairman; Carl Ross, secretary.
For telegrams: The Worker, 324 Hennepin Avenue, room 801, Minneapolis, Minn.
10. Indiana: 29 South Delaware, room 31, or post-office box 932, Indianapolis, Ind. George Sandy, chairman.
11. Oregon: Post-office box 185, Portland 7, Oreg. Mark Haller, chairman.
12. Northwest: 614½ First Avenue (or post-office box 332), Seattle 4, Wash. Henry Huff, chairman; C. VanLydegraf, secretary.

13. California (Arizona, Nevada) ; 942 Market Street, room 701, San Francisco 2, Calif. William Schneiderman, chairman; Louise Todd, secretary.
Los Angeles: 124 West Sixth Street, room 525, Los Angeles, Calif. Dorothy Healey, chairman; Ben Dobbs, secretary.
Arizona: 716½ East Washington Street, Phoenix, Ariz. Morris Graham, chairman.
14. New Jersey: 38 Park Place, room 304, Newark, N. J. Martha Stone, chairman; Joe Fisher, secretary.
15. Connecticut: Post-office box 10 or 840 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn. Mike Russo, chairman; Sid Taylor, secretary.
18. Wisconsin: 617 North Second Street, room 902, Milwaukee, Wis. Andrew Remes, chairman; Esther Eisenscher, secretary.
19. Colorado (New Mexico-Wyoming): Post-office box 2691 or 929 Seventeenth Street, Denver 1, Colo. Art Bary.
21. Missouri: 1041 North Grand Street, St. Louis, Mo. Jim Forest, chairman; Helen Mussel, secretary.
22. West Virginia: Post-office box 1345, Charleston, W. Va.
23. Texas: Post-office box 4085, Houston, Tex. Ed Hardy.
24. Louisiana: Room 417 Godchaux Building or Post-office box 2727, New Orleans, La. Irving Goff, chairman.
25. Florida: Post-office box 2732, Tampa, Fla. George Nelson, chairman.
26. Virginia: 11 North Linden Street or post-office box 132, Richmond, Va. Alice Burke, chairman; Dave Bennett, secretary.
27. Alabama: Post-office box 1891, Birmingham 1, Ala. Sam Hall, chairman; Andy Brown, secretary.
28. Oklahoma: Post-office box 245, Oklahoma City, Okla. Allen Shaw, chairman.
29. North and South Carolina: Box 62, Chapel Hill, N. C. Junius Scales, B. Friedlander.
31. Georgia: Post-office box 4836, Atlanta 9, Ga. Homer Chase, chairman.
30. Montana: Post-office box 77, Butte, Mont. Jack Lucid, chairman.
32. Nebraska: 5407 South Twenty-ninth Avenue, Omaha 7; or post-office box 445, Omaha 1, Nebr. Warren Batterson, chairman.
35. Utah: 75 Southwest Temple Street, Salt Lake City 1, Utah. Wallace Talbot, chairman; Josephine Douglas, secretary.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. Wood. The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 12:50 p. m. on Thursday, September 28, 1950, the hearing was adjourned.)

EXPOSÉ OF THE COMMUNIST/ PARTY OF WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA—PART 3, BASED UPON TESTIMONY
OF MATTHEW CVETIC AND DOCUMENTS OF COMMUNIST
PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee of one met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Burr P. Harrison presiding.

Committee member present: Hon. Burr P. Harrison.

Staff member present: Louis J. Russell, senior investigator.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Jones, will you hold up your right hand and be sworn. You solemnly swear that in the testimony you are about to give you will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JONES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM JACKSON JONES

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, you are employed as an investigator by the Committee on Un-American Activities, are you not?

Mr. JONES. I am.

Mr. RUSSELL. On October 6, 1950, did you subpoena certain documents from one Matthew Cvetic, a former undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. JONES. Yes, I did.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you a document entitled "Instructor's Outline for Orientation Course," prepared by the National Education Commission of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and ask you if this is one of the documents which was subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. This is one of the documents I subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on that date.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing and that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 92."

Mr. HARRISON. It is so ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 92," is as follows:)

INSTRUCTOR'S OUTLINE FOR ORIENTATION COURSE

(Prepared by: National Education Commission, Communist Party, U. S. A.,
35 East Twelfth Street, New York City)

FOREWORD TO THE TEACHER

- I. In undertaking these new members' classes, your object should be:
 1. To develop certain basic knowledge about the party: its theory and organization; its policy and program;
 2. To instill a respect, devotion, and loyalty to the party;
 3. To lay the foundations, and stimulate the desire, for further continuous study of party theory and for the regular reading of the party press;
 4. To help integrate the new members as rapidly as possible into his or her party club and into the life of the party.
- II. In teaching these classes, your method should aim at:
 1. Tying up the content of the discussions with the new members' own experience.
 2. Drawing on the present experience and past history of the American people and especially of the working class in America, using current materials from the Daily Worker.
 3. Affording the new member experience in active participation in collective discussion;
 4. Encouraging the new member to feel responsible for the free expression of his questions, doubts, and disagreements, with a view to their clarification.
- III. In preparing for these classes, your approach should be:
 1. To master the material, so that you are not bound by the notes you make, but can develop the content as flexibly as possible;
 2. At the same time, not to expect to know all the answers without exception, or to try to make the student think you do (he will respect you more for admitting your lack of knowledge on a given point, and proposing to have it ready the next time, than for any attempt to bluff).
 3. To familiarize yourself as far as possible with the background and experience of the new members, both as a way of understanding their difficulties, helping them to make their best contributions to the discussion;
 4. To be constantly on the alert for individual problems and achievements in the course of the class, so that these can be handled in such a way as to continually raise the level of the class.
- IV. In developing the subject matter of each class you should:
 1. Constantly refer to and expose current misconceptions about one or another question. The members will understand the main questions better if they are explained on the basis of refuting wrong ideas which exist—e. g. "imperialism means owning colonies;" "socialism means dividing everything up"; etc.
 2. All the main points in each lesson should be hammered home by pointing out and exposing the anti-Marxist theories and policies of Browder. For example in lesson one: The class struggle versus Browder's revisionist policy of class collaboration; in lesson two: The reactionary nature of American imperialism versus Browder's false theory about the inherently intelligent and progressive role of American imperialism; in lesson three: Our ultimate goal of socialism versus Browder's abandonment of the goal of socialism; in lesson four: Our Marxist-Leninist conception of the party versus Browder's liquidation of the Communist Party; etc.
- V. In using the outline please bear in mind that:
 1. It will not be possible to cover in each session every point developed in the outline for that session. The instructor should use his judgment, depending on the level of development of the particular class being taught, in deciding how much of the material in the outline is to be developed in each session.
 2. It is not intended that these classes for new members should go as deeply and fully into various theoretical questions as would be done, for example, in a longer course on the fundamentals of Marxism. The instructor should aim at developing a general minimum and basic knowledge of the main questions dealt with in each lesson.

THE CHARACTER OF PRESENT-DAY AMERICA

Session 1

WHY DID YOU JOIN THE PARTY?

1. After a brief introduction, which should serve to introduce the main objects of the class, the above question should be placed before the students:
 - (a) It will help "break the ice," and get them involved at once in discussion.
 - (b) It will help the teacher to get useful knowledge about them.
2. Two cautions:
 - (a) Do not let this part of the lesson drag.
 - (b) At the same time, this is a good time to begin establishing the idea of full answers. Guide questions, such as: "What do you mean by * * *?" and "What makes you think that * * *?", will help to draw the student out.
3. The answers to this question will probably deal with one or the other of these main objectives:
 - (a) To solve immediate problems: Discrimination, economic insecurity, war, etc.
 - (b) To bring about the ultimate goal of the transformation of society, through the establishment of socialism.
4. In summarizing this part of the discussion, the teacher should show that both these goals require, to begin with, a fundamental analysis of the country as it is today, because:
 - (a) They will not be reached by the "drawing up of blueprints"; but
 - (b) They must rest on the knowledge of: (1) What is to be fought against; (2) what forces are at hand for the fight.

I. THE COUNTRY WE LIVE IN

- (a) The United States is one of the largest countries in the world with a population of more than 130,000,000. Its boundaries stretch almost 3,000 miles from coast to coast and extend northward from the Rio Grande bordering Mexico to the Canadian border. Within this vast territory there is an enormous wealth of natural resources—coal, iron, silver, lead, water power, wheat, cotton, tobacco, corn, pasture land for cattle and livestock of all kind, etc.
- (b) The United States is the greatest industrial nation in the world. It leads all other countries in the output of coal, iron, steel, cotton, automobiles, manufactured goods of various kinds. The enormous capacity of American industry to produce was revealed during the war when almost \$200,000,000,000 worth of goods and services were produced or made available.

II. THE UNITED STATES IS A CAPITALIST COUNTRY

- (a) Private ownership of means of production by numerically small capitalist class.
- (b) Capitalist production for sale and not for satisfaction of needs of people. It is production for profit and not for use.
- (c) Working class completely divorced from ownership of means of production; owns only its own labor power; compelled to sell its labor power to capitalists for wages in order to live. Approximately 45 to 50 million wage workers in the United States although not all are employed.
- (d) The labor power of workers when applied in production creates a surplus value; appropriation of this surplus by capitalists—exploitation of workers—is the source of capitalist profit.
- (e) Power in country rests in hands of capitalist class.

III. CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

- (a) The basic contradiction of the capitalist system is that between the social character of production and the private nature of appropriation.
- (b) This reflects itself in contradictions between:
 - Organization of production within the factory and the anarchy, or planlessness, of production in capitalist society as a whole.
 - Tendencies toward unlimited expansion of production and a constant narrowing down of consuming power in capitalist society.
 - Constant struggle between two basic classes—bourgeoisie and proletariat.
- (c) These contradictions prove not only the desirability, but also the inevitability of socialism as the only way in which these contradictions can be solved.

IV. MASS UNEMPLOYMENT IS AN INEVITABLE FEATURE OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

(a) Development of capitalist industry and agriculture, accompanied by ever-increasing use of machinery and other methods to increase labor productivity, constantly displaces part of working force. Growth of monopoly ruins small industry and throws employees out of work. Ruin of small farms divorces farmers from land.

(b) Capitalist production thus creates an "industrial reserve army" of unemployed workers. Unemployment a permanent feature of capitalism, a necessity for capitalist development. In past, industrial reserve army periodically reabsorbed in industry when production expanded and again thrown out during crisis and depression.

(c) In imperialist era, and especially since capitalism has entered a period of general crisis of entire system, the industrial reserve army of unemployed has been transformed into chronic mass army of unemployed which (except during wartime) is not reabsorbed in industry even when production reaches its highest levels. Two and a half million unemployed at peak of "prosperity" in 1929; 17,000,000 unemployed at lowest point of 1929-32 crisis; average of 8,000,000 unemployed during whole period of New Deal.

V. CYCLICAL ECONOMIC CRISES ARE INEVITABLE UNDER CAPITALISM

(a) In fierce competitive struggle for profits, capitalists are constantly compelled to introduce more developed methods of production, to increase productivity of worker in order to cut production costs; leads to anarchy of production, i. e., production without plan and without regard to ability of market to absorb everything produced.

(b) Tendencies toward unlimited expansion of production in order to secure maximum profits come into conflict with narrowing market determined in last analysis by low purchasing power of exploited masses.

(c) As total production expands, there is necessarily a constant decrease in the ability of the workers and farmers to buy back the products of industry and agriculture because of their exploitation. This leads to period of relative overproduction.

(d) The ability of capitalists to sell their products leads to periodic crises of overproduction. In the past such crises took place on an average of every 10 to 12 years.

(e) In this period of the general crisis of capitalism, cyclical economic crises occur more frequently and take on exceptional severity and acuteness because of whole series of new factors—existence of chronic mass army of unemployed, existence of chronic agrarian crisis, chronic underutilization of full productive capacity, policies of trusts and monopolies (superprofits, artificial maintenance of prices, etc.). Crisis of 1929, 1937; maturing elements of inevitable new crisis in next period.

VI. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

(a) The development of capitalist production leads to concentration and centralization of wealth on one side and the growing impoverishment, insecurity of the masses on the other.

(b) Leads to sharpening of class antagonisms and class struggle:

With development of industry, working class grows in numbers, strength, and consciousness. The antagonism and struggle between the two basic classes in modern society—working class and capitalist class—grow and become more intense.

The middle classes are constantly being ruined by development of capitalist production and hurled into ranks of proletariat; vacillate between working class and capitalist class.

Working class is most revolutionary class; it is the leader of all exploited sections of people—Negro people, farmers, etc. Created by capitalism, it is the grave digger of capitalism.

(c) With the growth of the working class, the workers learn that they have common interests in the fight against the capitalist class. They form trade unions and fight for the immediate interests of the workers—for better wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work. Their struggle with the capitalist class grows in breadth and sharpness.

(d) In the course of this struggle the workers learn that they must use not only economic but political weapons. They find that the political institutions,

of capitalism—what we call the state—are dominated by the capitalists, i. e., the police, the Armed Forces, the legislative and administrative bodies. The workers enter the arena of political as well as economic battles. We see this taking place in the United States today.

(e) This class struggle also takes place on the theoretical front against the theories and ideology which the capitalists develop in order to justify their system of exploitation.

(f) However, by themselves and from their experience alone, the workers cannot learn the need for socialism. Through their experiences alone they cannot rise above the level of a trade-union consciousness.

(g) The working class needs a political party to give them this socialist consciousness, to make them see the need of socialism as a result of their day-to-day struggles. This is the role of the Communist Party, which is composed of the most advanced workers, and which develops the socialist consciousness of the workers in the course of the leadership which it gives to the daily struggles of the workers for their immediate needs.

READING MATERIAL

For student: Communist Manifesto, chapter 1.

For instructor: Socialism, Scientific and Utopian, by Engels, chapter 3.

Session II

THE UNITED STATES IS AN IMPERIALIST COUNTRY

1. American economic life dominated by trusts and monopolies—the 60 families.

(a) More than in any other capitalist country in the world, industry in the United States is monopolized and trustified—steel trust; aluminum trust, etc. Estimated that industries dominating economic life of country centered in hands of 60 families—Rockefellers, Morgans, du Ponts, Fairless, Girdler, Ford, Wilson, Stettinius, Pew, etc. In 1937 there were at least 900 products in production of which four companies accounted for 75 percent or more.

(1) Growth of trusts and monopolies driving small business out; between 1900 and 1939, 16,000,000 new businesses started of which 14,000,000 died.

(2) War increased power of trusts and monopolies in economic life of country; there are now 500,000 fewer small businesses than before the war.

(b) No longer any separation between control of banks and control of industry:

(1) Morgan bank now controls many industries.

(2) Rockefeller money (made in oil industry) now controls first national bank.

(c) Eight groups of financial capitalists (i.e., capitalists who control both banks and industries) dominate economic life of country. They consist of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Rockefeller interests; Mellon family, du Pont family; three regional finance-capitalist groups in Chicago, Boston, and Cleveland.

(d) Following First World War, American capitalists stopped borrowing from European capitalists and began lending money abroad and making foreign investments. Today such foreign investments (export of capital) are even larger and more important source of profit for American capitalists than export of manufactured goods.

(e) American trusts and monopolies participate in world cartels with trusts and monopolies of other countries to divide up markets, fix production quotas, set prices, establish spheres of influence, etc. Investigations during war showed tie-up of American trusts in chemical, electrical, rubber, etc., industries with German and Japanese trusts in cartel arrangements.

(f) The United States shares in the possession of colonies which are divided up among the imperialist powers. It has as colonial possessions: the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands. Equally important is the hidden economic and political domination of nominally independent countries by American imperialism, especially the Latin-American countries.

II. WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

(a) "Imperialism is a special historical stage of capitalism. * * * "The substitution of monopoly for free competition is the fundamental economic feature of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five main forms:

"(1) Cartels, syndicates and trusts; the concentration of production having reached the stage which gives rise to these monopolistic combinations of the capitalists;

"2. The monopolistic position of the big banks; three to five gigantic banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany;

"3. Usurpation of the sources of raw material by the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopolistic industrial capital merged with bank capital);

"4. The [economic] partition of the world among the international cartels has begun. The international cartels which dominate the whole world market, dividing it "amicably" among themselves—until war brings about a redistribution—already numbers over 100. The export of capital, a specifically characteristic phenomenon distinct from the export of commodities under nonmonopoly capitalism, is closely bound up with the economic and territorial partition of the world.

"5. The territorial political partition of the world [colonies] is completed."

—Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 19—*Imperialism and the Split in Socialist Movement*, p. 337.

III. IMPERIALISM AND WAR

(a) Wars are inevitable result of economic and political contradictions of capitalism sharpened and accentuated in imperialist epoch; contradictions between imperialist countries; contradictions between imperialist countries and colonial and dependent countries; contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

(b) Communists are not pacifists. They distinguish between two kinds of wars:

"(1) Just wars: Wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

"(2) Unjust wars: Wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

"Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government."

—*History of CPSU*, pp. 167–168.

(c) Communists do not adopt a fatalist attitude to the outbreak of war. They mobilize the people to expose and fight against every policy or action making for imperialist war.

IV. THE POLITICAL ESSENCE OF IMPERIALISM IS REACTION

"The political struggle of the new economy, of monopoly capitalism (imperialism is monopoly capitalism), is the turn from democracy to political reaction. Democracy corresponds to free competition. Political reaction corresponds to monopoly.

"To separate 'foreign politics' from politics in general, or, still worse, to contrast foreign politics to home politics, is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxian and unscientific. Imperialism strives to violate democracy, strives toward reaction both in foreign politics and home politics." (Lenin, vol. 19, p. 229.)

This striving of imperialism to reaction, when not checked and defeated, results in the establishment of fascism.

V. WHAT IS FASCISM

(a) Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

(b) Fascism established to realize the policies of imperialism, to maintain the rule of finance capital against threat of people against that rule; attempt to shift burden of crisis upon toiling masses and preparation for imperialist war. Expression of decline of capitalism and inability of bourgeoisie to rule in old way.

(c) In United States danger of fascism stems from reactionary monopoly capitalists spreadhead by NAM—du Ponts, Morgans, Mellons, Hoovers, Hearsts.

McCormick-Patterson press; their alliance with Southern Bourbons who seek preservation of Southern feudal institutions; activity of Fascist organizations.

(d) Reactionary, profascist forces carrying on renewed drive against all popular liberties; to smash unions; rob Negro people of wartime gains; divide labor and veterans; promote anti-Semitism; red-baiting and new anti-Communist legislation.

VI. BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

- (a) Bourgeois democracy a concealed form of dictatorship of bourgeoisie.
- (b) Limitations of bourgeois democracy: Universal suffrage allowed as long as control of capital assured; deception of masses through corruption of parties, control of press, radio, etc.; lack of material guarantees to enforce rights to free speech, free press, free assembly, etc.; restrictions on franchise—poll tax, residence qualifications, white primaries, etc.
- (c) Working class not indifferent to the form of bourgeois rule. Reject Trotskyite position that there is no difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism merely because both are forms of capitalist rule. Fight with all democratic elements of nation to protect and extend democratic rights and liberties.
- (d) Communists do not wage struggle against fascism and for democracy in order to perpetuate bourgeois rule but to create better conditions for the fight to establish socialism. Struggle for democracy an indispensable part of struggle for socialism: "It would be fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc." On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, constant, and revolutionary struggle for democracy" (Lenin).

VII. LEADING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IN STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

- (a) Working class most resolute, dependable, and leading force in struggle for democracy and against Fascist reaction; must strengthen independent role and activities, display greater political organizing initiative, forge national and international unity of forces of labor.
- (b) Working class must strengthen ties with its natural allies and all democratic forces; working farmers, Negro people, veterans, youth, women, intellectuals, city middle classes and their democratic organizations.
- (c) Labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings who, for one or another reason, objectively at times promote democratic aims (Wallace, etc.). But in so doing, labor must rely on its own strength and unity and upon its alliance with the true democratic, anti-Fascist forces.

VIII. THE FIGHT FOR FULL SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR NEGRO PEOPLE: FOR UNITY OF NEGRO AND WHITE

- (a) American imperialism has established and maintains a special oppression of the 13,000,000 Negro people in the United States. Negro people denied rights which whites have enjoyed for generations. Subjected to special discrimination not directed against any other section of the people. Discrimination affects not only Negro workers but whole Negro people including sharecroppers, farmers, small-business men, professionals, and relatively small and weak Negro capitalist class. Whole Negro people deliberately kept in position of economic, social, and political subjection by American imperialism.
- (b) Forms of oppression, exploitation, and discrimination: Segregation and Jim Crow (in housing, trains, restaurants, schools, theaters, public places, Armed Forces, etc.; discrimination in employment—first to be fired, last to be hired); limiting employment to hardest and most menial tasks; denial of right to vote in South through poll tax and white primaries; denial of constitutional rights (to serve on juries, etc.); lynching and police terror against individual Negroes and whole Negro communities as in Columbia, Tenn.; continued insults in newspapers, radio, movies, etc.
- (c) Therefore, Negro people as a whole—not only Negro working class—are an ally of the working class; working class must take leadership in fight to establish and strengthen this alliance by fighting for Negro rights.
- (d) American imperialism maintains special oppression of Negro people as part of its "divide and rule" strategy. Theory of "white supremacy" (white chauvinism) identical with and serves same ends as racist theories of Hitler.

Object is to set white against Negro, prevent united struggle of both against the common enemy—American imperialism, monopoly capital.

(e) Practices and ideas of race supremacy, white chauvinism, harm not only Negroes. They are weapons aimed at white workers also. "Labor in white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded" (Marx). Hence, white workers must defeat "divide and rule" strategy of imperialist ruling class by fighting Jim Crow, segregation, and discrimination of Negroes; cement Negro and white unity by purging its ranks of all expressions, ideas, and practices of white chauvinism; by joint struggle for full social, political, and economic equality, for Negro people.

(f) The labor movement has special obligation to open doors of trade-unions to Negro workers on basis of full equality; to take leadership in fight for jobs, for equal pay, equal seniority and promotion, for advancing Negroes to leadership in labor movement.

(g) As most advanced and most progressive class, working class must rally people in decisive struggle to wipe out foul crime of lynching, to demand the death penalty for lynchers, to drive poll taxers from political life, to end the poll tax.

(h) As most advanced, vanguard section of working class, Communists deeply conscious of obligation to stand in forefront of struggle for Negro rights; to mercilessly expose and remove every expression, conscious or unconscious, of chauvinism in ranks of party, to be foremost educators of the people in shops, unions, communities, against prejudice, chauvinism, hate, for unity and solidarity.

(i) In course of the struggle for Negro rights, the Communist Party advances only ultimate program for final and complete solution of Negro question; points to U. S. S. R. as model and lesson of Socialist solution—only socialism forever banishes national prejudice, race hatred, inequality, and oppression; only socialism consolidates and guarantees for all time full and complete equality, voluntary fraternal brotherhood, and free union of all nationalities.

READING MATERIAL

For student: The Nature of Capitalism, by Anna Rochester; chapter 8 on Monopoly.

For instructor: Imperialism, by Lenin; chapters 7-10. United Front Against Fascism, Dimitroff.

Session III

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

1. Features of Socialist system of economy:

(a) Means of production owned in common by workers and farmers; basis for exploitation of man by man eliminated.

(b) Production for use and not for profit; social product of labor appropriated by society.

(c) Working class is master of the country; works for itself and not for class exploiters; exploiting class abolished.

(d) Power in the country rests in the hands of the working class which is in alliance with farmers—dictatorship of proletariat.

II. SOCIALISM IS A REALITY ON ONE-SIXTH OF EARTH'S SURFACE—IN U. S. S. R.

(a) Victory of revolution on November 7, 1917, established rule of working class, began task of reconstructing economy on Socialist basis.

(b) Victory of socialism eliminates contradictions of capitalism. No contradiction between social production and private appropriation. Means of production owned in common. Production has socialist character. Social products of labor appropriated by society.

Organized planned economy to improve material conditions of people replaces anarchy of production, planlessness of capitalist production.

Unemployment, insecurity, and crises eliminated for all time.

Abolition of poverty of people: Increase in wealth brings rise in material and cultural conditions of people.

Elimination of antagonistic classes by abolition of capitalist class and replacement by fraternal collaboration of workers, farmers, socialist intelligentsia.

III. FINAL AND IRREVOCABLE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

(a) Soviet Union today an advanced industrial power; industrialization necessary as a secure foundation of Soviet power. Establishment of large-scale socialist industry made Soviet Union independent of capitalist powers. Achieved

through 5-year plans which led to unparalleled rise in Soviet production and showed superiority of socialist economic system. Industrialization opposed by Trotskyites and Bukharinites who are today agents of fascism and counter revolution.

(b) Agriculture reconstructed on socialist basis through collectivization which transformed small peasant economy to large socialist agriculture equipped with modern machinery and destroyed basis for restoration of capitalism.

IV. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IS HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY.

(a) The present Soviet constitution, adopted in 1936, goes far beyond any democratic state document in world history because it is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production and the elimination of exploitation of man by man.

(b) It promulgates and guarantees genuine liberty for the people. The Soviet constitution, as the greatest charter of liberty mankind ever developed, provides—

Right to work—guaranteed employment and payment.

Right to rest and leisure.

Right to maintenance in old age, in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work.

Right to an education.

For women, equal rights with men in all spheres.

Freedom of religion and separation of church and state; freedom not to worship.

Freedom of speech, press, assembly; freedom of street demonstrations and processions.

Universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

(c) No other country in the world establishes such rights and implements them by providing the material means for their realization. Compare with limitations on democracy in United States and formal nature of rights without material guaranties.

(d) National oppression abolished; complete equality and harmony of nations within Soviet Union.

(e) New task for Soviet people is to advance from socialism to communism. Socialism is first stage of Communist society based on principle: From each according to his ability, to each according to the quantity and quality of his labor. Under communism, society operates on the principle: From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

V. CONSISTENT ANTI-FASCIST PEACE POLICY OF SOVIET UNION

(a) Role of the Soviet Union in the war against fascism in which it made the greatest sacrifices and the most decisive contributions to the joint war effort of the Big Three and thus played the most outstanding role in saving world civilization from fascist barbarism.

(b) The role of the Soviet Union in realizing the people's aim of an enduring peace is equally decisive; in the fight for a lasting peace the people of the world will find in the Soviet Union their most consistent and firm champion.

(c) The firm and consistent anti-Fascist peace policy of the Soviet Union is the historic policy of that country; it is the fundamental aim of foreign policy proclaimed from the very birth of the Soviet Union.

(d) The Soviet Union is the only country in the world which has, or can pursue a consistent anti-Fascist peace policy. It does, and can do, this because of its very nature as a Socialist country in which the exploiting classes were overthrown and have been completely abolished, where all the means of production are owned by the people, where class antagonisms have been abolished and replaced by the friendly collaboration of the Socialist workers, the Socialist farmers, and the Socialist intelligentsia.

(e) As a result of all this, by the living example of the Soviet Union, the idea of socialism as an answer to the problem of the tormented masses gains ever wider popularity and enthusiastic support among the masses in all countries.

VI. RELATION BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR ULTIMATE GOAL

(a) Material objective conditions in America ripe for socialism. The American people are not yet politically conscious of the necessity of replacing capitalism with a Socialist system. However, the victories of the Socialist Soviet Union,

and the struggles in this country, make it imperative that we constantly point out the necessity of eventually establishing a Socialist system as the answer to unemployment and crisis, etc.

(b) "In the struggle for the program of peace and democracy, jobs and security, favorable conditions, are created for the masses of our people to recognize on the basis of their own experiences, the need for the eventual reorganization of society along Socialist lines."

—Resolution.

(c) "We shall assist this process by every available educational means, taking full cognizance of the growing interest of the American people and its working class in the historic experiences of the Soviet people in the building of a new Socialist society, which has played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler Germany and the Axis. We shall aim to convince the broad masses that the eventual elimination of the profit system and the establishment of socialism in the United States will usher in a new and higher type of democracy and a free road to unlimited and stable social progress because it will end exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, through the establishment of a society without oppression and exploitation" (resolution of convention).

READING MATERIAL

For student: Stalin on New Constitution. A. B. Magil, Socialism—What's in It for You?

For instructor: Frederick Engels, Socialism: Scientific and Utopian.

Session IV

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. The Communist party—Political party of the working class:

(a) Without a political party representing both immediate and historical class interests of the working class impossible to achieve socialism.

(b) Under capitalism working class only consistent progressive and revolutionary class. Historic mission: Elimination of capitalism and building classless socialist society.

(1) Capitalist class—exploiting and ruling class—owner of means of production; controlling economic and political life of country.

(2) Working class—exploited class, compelled to hire out to owners of means of production. Specific class created by capitalism; constantly increasing in size; trained, organized, and disciplined by capitalist production itself.

(3) Middle class, not homogeneous class, represents diverse social groups—farmers, small-business men, professionals, etc.—constantly vacillating between capitalist class and working class. Can become revolutionary force only under leadership of working class.

(c) History of rise and development of working class emphasizes working class cannot arrive at Socialist consciousness without Communist Party.

(1) Working class by itself can achieve only level of trade-union consciousness. Necessity of combination to overcome division in own ranks in competition for jobs, wresting concessions from employers, attempting to put a limit to capitalist exploitation. Struggles for improved working conditions, shorter hours, higher wages, labor legislation, etc., trade-union struggles for better terms in sale of labor power.

(2) Working class under capitalism has historic mission to emancipate mankind from all exploitation through abolition of capitalist system and building of socialism. Cannot be achieved by trade-union struggle. Trade-union struggles do not in themselves educate working class to understanding necessity for, and how to abolish capitalist system, to achieve socialism.

(3) Socialist consciousness, understanding of conditions for emancipation of working class, does not arise spontaneously in day-to-day struggle against capitalism. Only Communist Party, embodiment of Socialist ideology, can imbue working class with understanding of its real position and historic tasks.

(4) Task of Communist Party to imbue working class with Socialist consciousness. Merging of struggles of working class with science of socialism through leadership of Communist Party.

II. COMMUNIST PARTY—MARXIST VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS

(a) Communist Party: Class-conscious advanced section of the working class, conscious element in all working-class struggles; understands laws of capitalist development and conditions for emancipation of working class.

(1) Role: To facilitate political and organizational development of working class, defend interests of workers in all phases of social life; help develop most effective forms of struggle to defend working-class interests; strengthen organizational and fighting capacity of the working class; strengthen unity of working class and its allies; expose and defeat alien ideologies which penetrate ranks of working class; prepare working class for fulfillment of historical objectives.

(2) Party performs rôle of vanguard not by just reflecting and recording existing conditions and trends among working class; not by lagging behind spontaneous struggles or ideology of backward sections; but by indicating solution of important theoretical, political, economic, tactical, and organizational questions at each stage in struggles of working class.

(3) Communist Party must learn to combine defense of immediate interests with systematic propaganda for socialism in day-to-day struggles.

(b) Role of vanguard can be performed only by a party guided by an advanced social science. Communist Party bases all its policies and actions on only scientific theory of working class—Marxism-Leninism.

(1) Theory as a guide to action. Without mastery of Marxism-Leninism and its systematic application to concrete historical conditions in country and to changing events, impossible to give leadership to complex problems facing working class and Nation. Impossible to achieve socialism.

(2) Communist practice helps to further advance and develop Marxist-Leninist theory "in accordance with the substance of the theory."

III. CONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY ESTABLISHES LENINIST CONCEPTS OF MARXIST VANGUARD IN PROGRAM, PRINCIPLES AND RULES WHICH GOVERN LIFE AND FUNCTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY

(a) Concept of Communist Party membership: Acceptance of program, membership in a club, attendance at meetings, reading of press, regular payment of dues, activity on behalf of program and policies of party.

(1) Necessity to conduct a consistent struggle to develop a Communist membership in keeping with historical tasks of party. Importance of transforming present membership into active Communists understanding party policies and tasks, and ready to assume responsibilities in carrying out tasks of Communist organizations.

(2) Rights and duties of member explained in constitution of Communist Party U. S. A.

(b) Basic forms of Communist organization: Constitution establishes shop and community clubs as basic forms of party organization.

(1) Necessary to establish shop clubs in all key shops; means of strengthening roots of party in basic industries, improving mass work of Communist shop workers, influencing and winning workers for correct policies and actions.

(2) Necessary to build community clubs as mobile community organizations, able to know membership, to involve them in working out policies and tasks, supervising mass activity of every member, developing independent mass activity in working-class communities as part of winning accepted role in anti-Fascist coalition movements in neighborhoods.

(3) Establish industrial form of club organization as transitional forms in industries where party too weak to establish shop clubs, and in industries under reactionary and Social-Democratic leadership.

(c) Democratic centralism: Constitution establishes democratic centralism as fundamental guiding principle of Communist organization.

(1) Democratic centralism represents a system of party organization which combines the conscious and active participation of the membership in the life of the party and the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the party and the working class.

(2) Weakening of inner party democracy and development of bureaucratism in the CPA. Democratic centralism not centralization of "power" in hands of party bureaucracy dominating membership, but stable Com-

munist leadership which centralizes all Communist activity and guarantees unity of action of organization; rests upon broadest inner democracy.

(3) Relation of inner democracy to principle of democratic centralism. Membership participation in formulating policies and tasks. Election of leadership by membership and responsibility of leadership to membership. Subordination of minority to majority in executing tasks once decision made.

(4) Unification and centralization of Communist activity under control and guidance of highest party organs (national convention and national committee between conventions) indispensable condition for performing vanguard role.

(d) Communist discipline: An integral part of democratic centralism, guarantees unity of will and action of Marxist vanguard.

(1) Essence of Communist discipline: Subordination of will of individual or minority to majority decision. Weakening of Communist discipline during period of revisionism part of weakening of inner democracy.

(2) Communist discipline does not exclude criticism and conflict of opinions. Must be based upon broadest and freest discussion, freedom to express differences and discussion of controversial questions—until questions decided. Once decision made, must be carried out by all without reservations. Right to appeal decision to higher body, but obligation to carry out decision while appeal is pending.

(3) Impermissibility of factions and groupings in party. Importance of unity in Communist ranks. Monolithic character of Communist Party.

(4) Communist discipline not imposed from above, is voluntary and self-imposed. Fundamental condition for maintenance and preservation of discipline: Full understanding of Communist policies, confidence in correctness of Communist policies, devotion and loyalty to cause of working class.

(e) Criticism and self-criticism: Indispensable principle for training and developing condition for maturity and progress of Marxist vanguard.

(1) Disclosure of mistakes, their causes and means of correction, criteria of mature Communist Party, helps to steel Communist vanguard. Most important means by which to train and develop Communist cadres.

(2) Complete absence of criticism and self-criticism during revisionist period led to glossing over of mistakes and weaknesses, to bureaucratic methods of work and leadership, to obvious difficulties in training and steeling Communist personnel.

IV. COMMUNIST PARTY BECOMES STRONG IN STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

1. Party not only instrument of working class to help it more effectively combat capitalist offensive, but main instrument through which to undermine and combat all bourgeois and petit-bourgeois influences and ideologies which penetrate working class.

(a) Working class living in capitalist environment subject to the influence of capitalist and petit-bourgeois and other nonproletarian sections which surround working class.

(b) Working class cannot be won for socialism without undermining and defeating capitalist and petit-bourgeois ideological influences in ranks of working class.

2. History of Communist movement: History of the struggle against alien class influences which penetrate the working class and through it into the Communist Party.

(a) Communist Party must conduct consistent struggle against all opportunist expressions and trends of both right and left variety within Communist Party.

(b) Struggle on two fronts in American Communist Party: A struggle against bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideology and influences which infiltrate into ranks of Communist Party (struggle against Lovestonism, Trotskyism, and Browder).

(c) Failure to conduct struggle on two fronts weakens Marxist vanguard, its ability to undermine bourgeois and petit-bourgeois influences in working class, its ability to perform role of vanguard of working class.

READING MATERIAL

For student: Constitution of Communist Party, U. S. A.

For instructor: Stalin—"Foundations of Leninism," chapter on the party history of CPSU, pages 353-363.

Session V

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM OF COMMUNIST PARTY

This entire session should be devoted to a discussion of the present policies of the party as outlined in the main reports to the national committee by William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis. These reports are available in pamphlet form and can be supplemented by leading articles and editorials in the Daily and Sunday Worker. These policies should be discussed and analyzed in relation to the main tasks of the district, section, or club.

* * * * *

ERRATA

Please take special note of corrections listed below and make your penciled insertions in the outline.

Page 4, section IV (b): "In past, industrial reserve army periodically absorbed * * *" should read "*partly* absorbed."

Section V (d) should read "the inability, etc."

Section V (a): After "productivity of workers in order to" add, "to increase the rate of exploitation."

Page 5, reading material: Second line should read, "Socialism, Utopian, and Scientific."

(End of Cvetic exhibit No. 92.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you another document, entitled "Fundamentals of Marxism," consisting of nine lessons, which is issued by the Communist Party to assist teachers of classes in the fundamentals of communism, and ask you if this is also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes, this is one of the documents I subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing and that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 93."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 93," is as follows:)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page ¹
Lesson I. Introduction—Marxist-Leninist theory.....	1
Lesson II. The general features of the capitalist.....	4
Lesson III. The class struggle.....	8
Lesson IV. The state.....	12
Lesson V. Imperialism—present-day capitalism.....	18
FIRST SESSION	
Lesson V. Imperialism—present-day capitalism.....	22
SECOND SESSION	
Lesson VI. The Negro question.....	21a
Lesson VII. Socialism.....	24
Lesson VIII. The Communist Party.....	28
Lesson IX. Strategy and tactics.....	32

¹ Page numbers refer to pagination in original document.

FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this outline is twofold: (1) To assist teachers of classes in fundamentals of communism, and (2) to aid individuals in pursuing a similar course of self-study.

In general, the outline is intended to fill the need for an "intermediate" course in the principles of Marxism, in contrast to new member classes on the one hand, or more advanced or specialized classes on the other. It is felt that such a course of study, whether in a class or by the individual, would

be of value both for members who have had only limited previous study, and for those wishing to review certain fundamentals of Marxism. There is at present a great demand for such a review course for older members as part of the task of completely wiping out our past revisionist errors, as well as to meet the need of newer members who have never had the opportunity for such study. An effort has been made, therefore, to prepare an outline which can be adjusted to the capacity and level of the individual or group using it. Nine topics are included, although it is suggested that at least one of these—imperialism—be given two sessions in any class. This would bring the total number of sessions to 10.

With regard to its use for classes, however, we wish to emphasize that the outline is not intended as a blueprint; but rather as a guide and aid to the teacher. It is clear that classes in fundamentals must be adopted to the particular composition and needs of each class. Not every class—probably not any class—will be able to cover all the material included in the outline. However, this material is intended to help the teacher cover the material as thoroughly as possible, since the first prerequisite of a good teacher is to be well prepared in the content of the course. With this as a basis, each instructor will find it necessary to adopt the outline, the reading, and the questions for discussion to the level and needs of the particular class, singling out the most important points which seem to be required in the group involved.

It is recognized that the reading selections are rather long for certain topics. An effort has been made to divide them into more or less essential references and supplementary material; however, each instructor will want to check the references with an eye to assigning those most suitable to the class involved. He should also keep an eye open for additional current references as they appear.

With regard to methods of teaching, it is suggested that class discussion, guided by the teacher will prove most fruitful. The discussion can be centered around questions raised by the students, bearing in mind the main material to be covered, and around questions suggested in the outline or worked out by the instructor. The instructor should endeavor to secure the answers to problems through drawing out the students, making added remarks when necessary to clarify the questions under discussion, rather than delivering lengthy lectures on the topic. However, it may be desirable to open a session with a brief summary of material previously discussed or to end a session with concluding summary remarks.

Where possible seminars of teachers handling this course under the leadership of the county educational director or other county leaders should be organized, in most cases on a county scale. An interchange of experiences, both with regard to methods of teaching and content, would be of great assistance in training a larger corps of teachers for the party, and would undoubtedly improve the level of the classes.

Individual students, whether involved in a class or not, may find the outline also of value in directing their reading and in posing problems for consideration. Where an individual is engaged only in self-study, however, it is urged that an effort be made to discuss the material with other comrades in his club or in the county.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION, COMMUNIST PARTY,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

JANUARY 9, 1946.

LESSON I

INTRODUCTION—MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

A. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. * * *

—Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

"Theory is the experience of the labour movement in all countries taken, in its general form. Of course, theory becomes immaterial if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark of its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. But theory can become the greatest force in the labor movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for it, and it alone, can give to the movement confidence,

the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner connection between events; for it, and it alone, can help us in our practical work to discern how and in which direction classes are moving, not only at the present time but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future."

—Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*.

"The role of the vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory."

—Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*

B. Marxism-Leninism makes possible the scientific study of historical development.

"People make their own history; but what determines their motives, namely, the motives of people in the mass; what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and endeavors; what is the sum total of all those clashes among the whole mass of human societies: what the objective conditions of material life that form the basis of all historical activity of man; what is the law of the development of these conditions—to all these matters Marx directed attention, pointing the way to a scientific study of history as a unified and true-to-law process despite its being extremely variegated and contradictory."

—Lenin.

C. "Our teaching is not a dogma but a guide to action."

—Engels.

"The immediate task of this theory is to reveal all the forms of antagonism and exploitation in modern society, to trace their evolution, to prove their transitory nature, the inevitability of their transformation into another form, and in this way to serve the proletariat so that it may put an end to every kind of exploitation as quickly and easily as possible."

—Lenin, *What the Friends of the People Are, etc.*

II. MARX AND ENGELS—FOUNDERS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

A. Development of human society conditioned by development of productive forces.

—Production necessary for existence of man.

—What are productive forces and production relations?

—Given mode of production corresponds to given stage of human society.

—Mode of production determines social, political, and intellectual relations of mankind.

B. "The history of hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Communist Manifesto.)

—Origin of classes with origin of private property—those who have and those who have not.

—Basic classes in former historical systems, basic classes in capitalist society.

C. Analysis of laws of capitalist development shows necessity of socialism.

Marxism "laid the essence of modern capitalist economy, explaining the manner in which the hire of the laborer, the purchase of labor power, marks the enslavement of millions of propertyless people by a handful of capitalists, the owners of the land, factories, mines, etc. It showed that the whole trend of the development of modern capitalism is toward the ousting of small production by large, and the creating of the conditions which make a socialist system of society possible and inevitable."

—Lenin.

—Social character of production—material basis for new socialist society.

—Capitalism progressive in origin, becomes reactionary. Capitalist relations retard further development of productive forces. (Give examples from the present-day; unemployment, etc.)

—New social form required—socialism—to liberate the productive forces; and this has already arisen in the Soviet Union.

III. LENIN—CONTINUED AND DEVELOPED MARXISM IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM

(See Introduction to Foundations of Leninism by Stalin.)

IV. THE NECESSITY TO STRUGGLE FOR CORRECT THEORY AND POLICY

A. Constant pressure of nonsocialist, antiworking class ideology upon the labor movement and the party of the working class, which requires vigilant struggle to maintain correct Marxist theory and practice.

B. Recent mistakes of the American Communist movement were due to the pressure of such anti-Marxist ideology.

"The source of our past revisionist errors must be traced to the ever active pressure of bourgeois ideology and influences upon the working class. The failure on our part to conduct a sustained struggle against those bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences permitted their infiltration into our ranks and sapped our proletarian vitality." (National Convention Resolution on the Present Situation and Next Tasks—Communist Party Convention, August 1945.)

C. Necessity to combine intensive study of theory with application of theory to concrete problems we face and then to *test* this policy in action, against experience of working class.

D. General nature of present errors of American Communist Party was "right opportunism"—"revisionism."

"To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to windings of political trivialities, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat and the main features of the entire capitalist system, as well as the whole capitalist evolution, to sacrifice their basic interests for the sake of real or would be advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism."

—Lenin, *Marxism and Revisionism*.

Reading:

Communist Manifesto, chapter 1.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—(Engels), chapters I and II.

History of the CPSU, middle of page 114 to bottom of page 126.

Foundations of Leninism—(Stalin), introduction.

The Struggle Against Revisionism—(Foster), part 1, September *Political Affairs*.

Additional reading:

Lenin—Karl Marx.

Lenin—Marxism and Revisionism.

Lenin—Differences in the European Labour Movement.

Lenin—Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism.

(These four references may be found either in Vol. XI, *Selected Works* or in Marx-Engels—Marxism.)

Lenin—*What Is To Be Done?* Chapter II, sections A and B; chapter III, sections A, B, E.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. Why should we "take the time" to study Communist theory?

2. Why do we say that Communist theory—Marxism-Leninism—is scientific?

3. What is "revisionism"? Why has the American Communist Party made mistakes in theory—deviated from Marxism-Leninism?

4. How can we guard against such errors in the future?

LESSON II

THE GENERAL FEATURES OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

I. BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OR PRODUCTION

A. Commodity production: Goods are produced for exchange, not for use.

(1) This type of production *dominates* the economy.

(2) A system of money has come into use as a measure of value, a standard of price, a medium of exchange, and a means of repaying debt.

B. Producers are wage workers:

(1) They sell their labor power as a commodity.

(2) They do not own either the materials and tools necessary for production nor the product of their labor.

C. The means of production are owned and operated by the capitalist class for profit.

II. SURPLUS VALUE—THE SOURCE OF PROFIT

A. A commodity has both use value and exchange value. Its exchange value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor required to produce it.

B. Labor power is a special type of commodity in that it is capable of creating value over and above its own value.

C. Surplus value is that value produced by the worker above and beyond the value of his labor power, i. e., his wages.

"The wage laborer sells his labor power to the owner of land, of factories, and instruments of labor. The worker uses one part of the working day to cover the expense of maintaining himself and the family (wages), while the other part of the day the worker toils without remuneration, creating *surplus value* for the capitalist, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class" (Lenin).

III. THE LAWS OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

A. The basic contradiction of capitalism—social production and private appropriation.

"Before capitalistic production, i. e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the laborers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman, or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organized in guilds. The instruments of labor—land, agricultural implements, the work shop, the tool—were the instruments of labor of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and therefore of necessity small, dwarfish, circumscribed. But for this very reason they belonged as a rule to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful lovers of production of the present day—this was precisely the historic role of capitalist production and of its upholder, the bourgeoisie. * * * But the bourgeoisie * * * could not transform these puny means of production into mighty productive forces without transforming them at the same time from means of production of the individual into *social* means of production only workable by a collectivity of man. * * *

"The products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the capitalists. * * *

"This contradiction [i. e., between social production and private appropriation—ed.] which gives to the new mode of production its capitalist character contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today."

—Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

B. Consequences of this basic contradiction:

- (1) Manifested in the antagonism between capitalist and working classes.
- (2) Organization of production in individual factory anarchy in production in society as a whole where competition prevails.
- (3) Formation of industrial reserve army of workers displaced by increasing use and improvement of machinery; an instrument to force the value of labor power (i. e., wages) down.
- (4) Inevitability of periodic crises under capitalism, based in the last analysis upon the limitation of the market compared with the unlimited possibilities of expansion of production.

"The extension of the market cannot keep pace with the extension of production."

"Crisis is a rebellion of social productive forces against the capitalist system of commodity production and private appropriation."

- (5) Tendency to increasing concentration, to monopoly; ultimately tendency for capitalist state to take over direction of production.

"But the transformation either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces."

—Engels, *Ibid.*

"* * * The bourgeois reformist view that monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism but can already be termed 'state socialism' or something of that sort is a very widespread error. The trusts, of course, have not created, do not create now, and cannot create full and complete planning. But however much of a plan they may create, however closely capitalist magnates may estimate in advance the extent of production on a national and international scale, and however systematically they may regulate it, we still remain *under capitalism*—capitalism, it is true, in its new stage, but still unquestionably capitalism. The proximity of such capitalism to socialism should serve for the real representatives of the proletariat as an argument proving the nearness, ease, feasibility, and urgency of the Socialist revolution, and not at all

as an argument for tolerating repudiation of such a revolution or for making capitalism more attractive, in which work all the reformists are engaged."

—Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

"State ownership of the productive forces (under capitalism—ed.) is not the resolution of the conflict but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution."

—Engels, *Ibid.*

IV. SOCIALISM—THE ONLY SOLUTION

A. "The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property."

B. Main characteristics of socialism.

(1) Production for use, not profit.

(2) Labor power is not a commodity.

(3) Abolition of classes—exploiting and exploited.

C. No contradiction between social production and private appropriation then exists.

(1) No crises.

(2) No unemployment.

D. The Socialist economic system in practice—the U. S. S. R. has proved ability of socialism to eliminate crises, unemployment, insecurity, and poverty.

V. REVISIONIST ERRORS MADE BY THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN CONNECTION WITH THE ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION

A. In latter 1920's, Lovestone developed the theory of American exceptionalism; i. e., that capitalism in the United States was expanding in such a way that it would not be subject to the impending world crisis that was predicted by the Communist movement. This viewpoint was finally rejected in 1928, just 1 year before the crisis struck throughout the world, including the United States.

B. In recent period, Browder's thesis included "utopian economic perspectives" in which American capitalism would be able to avoid a postwar crisis through expansion of its foreign market on the one hand and doubling the wages of the workers on the other, which would be achieved because of the "intelligence" of the capitalist class. This was not based on a Marxist analysis flowing from the profit motive as the driving force of the capitalist system, and the implications of such an increase in wages in terms of its effort on profits; also it disregarded the limitations upon and results of the expansion of foreign trade.

"Browder's line is a rejection of the Marxian economic doctrines. Browder has developed bourgeois theories of the liquidation of the capitalist cyclical and general crisis; he rejects Marx' theory of surplus value and of the exploitation of the workers. Thus, for the past 2 years our party has made no criticism whatever of capitalism as a system of human exploitation, nor has it challenged the blood-wrung profits of the employers. * * * When Browder adopted so glibly the slogan of "free enterprise" he accepted in practice most of bourgeois economics along with it. * * *

—Foster, *The Struggle Against Revisionism*.

VI. POSTWAR ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(See Foster, *The Menace of American Imperialism*, pp. 9-12.)

(See National Convention Resolution, sec. 4, pts. III, IV, V, VI.)

Reading:

Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, ch. III Marx, *Value Price and Profit*, chs. VI, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, and XIV.

Communist Manifesto, chapter 1.

National Convention Resolution on the Present Situation and the Next Tasks, pt. 1, sec. 4.

Foster, *The Menace of American Imperialism*, pp. 9-12.

Additional reading:

Leontiev, *Political Economy*, chs. I through VII.

Dennis, Report to National Committee, section on Economic Perspectives and Markets.

Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*.

Lenin, *Karl Marx*, sections on Marx's Economic Doctrine and on Socialism.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What is capitalism?
2. Why are crises inevitable under capitalism? Why is socialism the only real solution?
3. Why was the postwar economic perspective for the United States as put forward by Browder incorrect?
4. What should be the policy and program of the American Communist Party with regard to the post-war economic outlook of the United States? Is it possible, among other things, to win a rise in the wages of the workers in this period?

LESSON III

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

I. THE CLASS STRUGGLE—THE DRIVING FORCE IN HISTORY

A. Since the end of era of primitive communism, society has been divided into classes.

—Classes determined by relation toward means of production.

—“What is meant by classes in general? It is what permits one part of society to appropriate the labor of another. If one part of society appropriates all the land, we have the classes of landlords and peasants. If one part of society owns the plants and factories, shares and capital, while the other part works in these factories, we have the classes of capitalists and proletarians.”

—Lenin.

B. In all class societies, the exploited classes struggle with the exploiters—class struggle is the key to past history and present events.

—Give examples of class struggle out of history.

II. CLASSES AND CLASS RELATIONS UNDER CAPITALISM: ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

A. Antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class—the two basic classes under capitalist.

(1) Existence of bitter class struggle—give examples.

(2) Position of intermediate classes, including the urban, middle class, and the farmers.

“There is a middle stratum, there is the technical intelligentsia among which there are very good and very honest people. Among them there are also dishonest and wicked people, there are all sorts of people among them. But first of all mankind is divided into rich and poor, into property owners and exploited; and to abstract oneself from the antagonism between rich and poor means abstracting oneself from the fundamental fact.”

—Stalin, *Wells Interview*.

B. The working class—leader of all exploited classes—in the struggle to abolish capitalism.

“In order to transform the world it is necessary to have *political power*. This can be done only by a great class which will take the place of the capitalist class and become the sovereign master as the latter was before. This class is the working class.”

—Stalin—Wells Interview.

“Only the proletariat—by virtue of its economic role in large-scale production—is capable of leading all the toiling and exploited masses, who are exploited, oppressed, crushed by the bourgeoisie not less, and often more, than the proletariat, but who are incapable of carrying on the struggle for their freedom *independently*. * * * The overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the proletariat, as the particular class which, by the economic conditions of its existence, is being prepared for this work and is provided with both the opportunity and power to perform it. While the capitalist class breaks up and atomizes the peasantry and all the petty bourgeois strata, it welds together, unites, and organizes the town proletariat.”

—Lenin, *State of Revolution*.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

A. With the development of industry, the working class grows in numbers, strength, and consciousness.

"The great industry masses together in a single place a crowd of people unknown to each other. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of their wages, this common interest which they have against their employer, unites them in the same idea of resistance—combination. * * * The combinations at first isolated * * * (form into) groups, and, in the face of constantly united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more important and necessary for them than the maintenance of wages. * * * In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements necessary for a future battle. Once arrived at that point, association takes a political character."

—Marx, *Poverty of Philosophy*.

B. Role of the trade-unions:

(1) Struggles for immediate interests of the workers.

(2) Schools for communism.

(3) Limitations of the trade-unions: "Trade-union politics" are not the same as Communist politics.

"Trade-unionism does not always exclude 'politics' altogether, as some imagine. Trade-unions have always conducted political (but not Social-Democratic; i. e., Communist) agitation and struggle."

"However much we may try to give to the economic struggle itself a political character, *we shall never be able* to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the degree of Social-Democratic, i. e., Communist consciousness) by confining ourselves to the economic struggle, for the *limits of this task are too narrow*."

—Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*.

C. The class struggle is essentially a political struggle requiring the leadership of a political party of the working class—the Communist Party.

(1) The historical necessity for such a party to unite the spontaneous struggles and movement of the working class with the scientific Socialist theory in an organization that would serve as the vanguard of the working class in its historic mission of achieving socialism.

"The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own efforts is able to develop only trade-union consciousness; i. e., it may itself realize the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers, and for striving to compel the government to pass the necessary labor legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels themselves belong to the bourgeois intelligentsia."

—Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*.

"A Marxist Party is the union of the working class movement with socialism."

—*History of the CPSU*.

Today this union has occurred in virtually all nations and is embodied in the Communist Parties, the Marxist vanguard of the working class.

(2) The responsibility of the party to develop the *political consciousness* of the workers.

"Very often the economic struggle spontaneously assumes a political character, that is to say * * * without the intervention of the class-conscious Social-Democrats (i. e., Communists). For example, the economic struggle of the British workers assumed a political character without the intervention of the Socialists. The tasks of the Social-Democrats (i. e., Communists), however, are not exhausted by political agitation on the economic field; their task is to *convert* trade-union politics into the 'Social-Democratic' (i. e., Communist) political struggle, to *utilize* the flashes of political consciousness which gleam in the minds of the workers during their economic struggles for the purposes of raising them to the level of Social-Democratic (i. e., Communist) political consciousness * * *."

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to

obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between all the various classes and strata and the state and the government—the sphere of the inter-relations between *all* of the various classes.”

“The Social-Democratic (i. e., Communist) ideal should be not a trade-union secretary but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to group all these manifestations into a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every petty event in order to explain his socialistic convictions and his Social-Democratic (i. e., Communist) demands to *all*, in order to explain to *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.”

—Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*.

(NOTE.—In the period when this was written the Communists were still known under the name of Social-Democrats.)

IV. MISTAKES OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE RECENT PERIOD IN CONNECTION WITH THE FOREGOING

“Browder’s line is a rejection of the Marxian principles of the class struggle. Comrade Browder denies the class struggle by sowing illusions among the workers of a long postwar period of harmonious class relations with generous-minded employers; by asserting that class relations no longer have any meaning except as they are expressed either for or against Tehran; by substituting for Marxian class principles such idealistic abstractions as the ‘moral sense,’ ‘enlightenment,’ ‘progressivism,’ and ‘true class interests’ of the big monopolists, as determining factors in establishing their class relations with the workers.

* * *

—Foster, *The Struggle Against Revisionism*.

Tendency to submerge the independent and leading role of the labor movement in electoral struggles and generally in the winning of the war to subordinate labor to leadership of the bourgeoisie.

Failure to sufficiently respond to the oppression of other sections of the people such as the Negro people, or to the special problems of youth, the farmers, and so forth.

Tendency to liquidate the vanguard role of the Communist Party.

V. FUTURE TASKS

Need to strengthen the independent role of labor as well as its alliance with other strata of the people (Negro people, farmers, etc.) and to build the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party.

Reading:

Stalin-Wells interview.

Communist Manifesto—chapter II.

Lenin, *Karl Marx*—section on the class struggle (in Marx-Engels Marxism).

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism*, chapter VI.

Additional reading:

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*—chapter II, and chapter III, A, C, D, E, F.

History of the CPSU—chapter II, sections 1 and 2.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What is a class?

2. What is it the historic mission of the working class to achieve socialism? Why is this class the leading force in the struggle for this objective?

3. What is the role of the trade unions in the class struggle? Or the Communist Party? What is the difference between “trade union” politics and Communist politics?

4. Speaking of the recent revision of Marxist-Leninist theory developed by the Communist Party of the United States, the National Convention Resolution on the present situation and next tasks states: “This revision * * * led to revision of the fundamental laws of the class struggle and to minimizing the independent and leading role of the working class.” Explain.

LESSON IV

THE STATE

I. MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE OF THE STATE

A. The origin of the state.

(1) The state arises at a definite stage in historical development—rise of private property and division of society into classes.

"The state, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which managed without it, which had no conception of the state and state power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity, owing to the cleavage."

—Engels.

(2) The state as an instrument of class rule—instrument for oppression of one class by another.

B. Role of the state.

(1) Class nature of state—regardless of its particular form—an instrument of domination of the ruling class over the oppressed class.

II. FORMS OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE

A. Bourgeois democracy.

(1) Veiled form of dictatorship of bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois state exercises dictatorship at certain times indirectly, and at these times, maintains a certain degree of democratic rights.

In the bourgeois republic, according to Engels, "Wealth wields its power indirectly, but all the more effectively." Lenin adds: "At the present time, imperialism and the domination of the banks have developed into an unusually fine art, both those methods of defending and asserting the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions."

(2) Bourgeois democratic form of the state best suited to the bourgeoisie in the period of its rise and development.

(3) Limitations of bourgeois democracy.

(4) Real nature of bourgeois democracy as dictatorship of capitalist class exposed in periods of crisis or sharp class conflicts.

(5) "We are in favor of a democratic republic as the best form of the state under capitalism, but we have no right to forget that wage slavery is the lot of the proletariat even in the most democratic bourgeois republic."—Lenin.

(6) American capitalist democracy in practice.

B. Fascism.

(1) Open and terroristic dictatorship of bourgeoisie.

(2) Substitution of "bourgeois democracy" as one form of class combination and dictatorship over the proletariat by another state form—open terroristic dictatorship.

(3) The form of rule of big monopoly capital in period of decaying capitalism. Give historical examples: Germany, Italy.

Fascist trends in all capitalist countries.

C. Struggle for bourgeois democratic rights.

(1) Working class cannot be indifferent as to what kind of political regime exists in a country.

When Engels says that in the democratic republic * * * the state remains a machine for the oppression of one class by another this by no means signifies that the form of oppression is a matter of indifference to the proletariat * * *. A wider, freer and more open form of the class struggle and of class oppression enormously assists the proletariat in its struggle for the abolition of classes."

—Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

(2) Must fight to defend and extend democratic rights wrested from capitalism as instrument to unite people in struggle against fascism.

(3) Reject and expose Trotskyite position that there is no important difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism merely because both are forms of capitalist rule. This leads to denying the need to struggle against fascism and results in actual active aid to fascism. (E. g., Spain, France, etc.)

(4) Struggle for democracy essential to struggle for socialism.

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the Socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, constant, and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

—Lenin, *Selected Works*.

III. THE STATE FOLLOWING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

A. The "dictatorship of the proletariat is the state during the transition period between capitalism and socialism."

(1) The historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the destruction of capitalism and the organization of socialism.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat * * * is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small masters, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.) or the majority of these; it is an alliance against capital, an alliance aimed at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on their part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."

—Lenin, *Selected Works* (as quoted by Stalin).

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, if we translate this Latin, scientific, historic-philosophical expression into more simple language, means just this; only one definite class, namely the urban workers, and the industrial workers generally, is capable of leading the whole mass of toiling and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capitalism, in the course of this overthrow, in the struggle to maintain and entrench its victory, in the work of creating a new Socialist system, in the whole struggle for the complete abolition of classes."

—Lenin, *Ibid.*

(2) The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *new type* of state, a new type of democracy.

"The working class cannot simply take possession of the ready-made state machine and use it for its own purposes."

—Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

What is required is "the shattering of the former state power and its replacement by a new and really democratic state * * *."

—Engels, *Introduction to the Civil War in France*.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be 'complete' democracy, a democracy for *all*, for rich and poor alike; the dictatorship of the proletariat 'must be a state that is democratic *in a new way*—against the bourgeoisie' (State and Revolution, Lenin). * * * "Democracy under the capitalist system is a *capitalist* democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. * * * Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is *proletarian* democracy—the democracy of the exploited majority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority."

—Stalin, *Leninism*, volume I.

B. With the abolition of exploiting classes, the socialist state will "wither away."

(1) "As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force really necessary. * * * The interference of the state power in social relations become superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished', it *withers away*."

—Engels, *Anti-Dühring*.

(2) "This however, requires modification as it applies to the specific external situation facing the socialist state in the Soviet Union today. Engels was discussing 'the development of the socialist state' in general on the assumption that socialism has been victorious in a majority of countries. * * *"

—Stalin.

"But it follows from this that Engels' general formula about the destiny of the socialist state in general cannot be extended to the partial and specific case of the victory of socialism in one country only, a country which is surrounded by a capitalist world, is subject to the menace of foreign military attack, cannot therefore abstract itself from the international situation and must have at its disposal a well-trained army, well organized punitive organs, and a strong intelligence service—consequently must have its own state, strong enough to defend the conquests of socialism from foreign attack."

—Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism*.

C. Anti-Marxist "theories" of the state in relation to socialism:

(1) Social-Democratic: That socialism can be achieved without the prior conquest of political power by the working class—that socialism can gradually "evolve" out of capitalism without establishment of a state directed by the working class which will replace the capitalist state.

(2) Anarchist Syndicalist: Anarchism holds that the state should be "abolished"—that there is no need for a state in building socialism—that any form of state is undesirable—that political action is unnecessary. Syndicalism holds that all state functions will be performed by the trade unions' organizations—that political action looking toward the eventual conquest of state power by the working class is therefore unnecessary.

D. Trotskyist struggle to destroy the Socialist state: Repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which led to the active fight to overthrow socialism, the joining of the Trotskyite and Fascist forces.

(1) "What is the dictatorship of the proletariat according to Trotsky?"

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power which enters 'into hostile collision * * * with the broad masses of the peasants' and seeks the solution of its 'contradictions' only on the arena of the world proletarian revolution. In what respect does this 'theory of permanent revolution' differ from the well-known theory of Menshevism which repudiates the concept: Dictatorship of the proletariat?"

"In substance there is no difference. * * * Permanent revolution is an underestimation of the peasant movement which leads to the rejection of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

—Stalin, *October Revolution Tactics*, 1924.

(2) This rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the possibility of building socialism in one country led to an active struggle against the Socialist state by the Trotskyites.

"Trotskyism * * * ceased to be a political trend in the working class * * * from the political trend in the working class that it was 7 or 8 years ago, Trotskyism had become transformed into a wild and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies, and assassins acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states."

—Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, 1937.

IV. ERRORS OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY WITH REFERENCE TO THE STATE

"Tendencies to obscure the class nature of bourgeois democracy."

—National convention resolution.

Uncritical approach to the Roosevelt administration.

"We Communists began to carry on the historic struggle against fascism, for democracy and national freedom in a way that was not clearly distinguishable from that of the bourgeois Democrats and bourgeois nationalists, forgetting the class character and limitations of bourgeois democracy and nationalism."

—National convention resolution.

Reading:

Lenin, *State and Revolution*, chapters I, II, III (secs. 3 and 5), and chapter V.

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism*, chapter VII.

Communist Manifesto—last two pages of chapter II.

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, chapter IV.

Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism*, pp. 49–57.

Dimitrov, *Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism*, chapter I.

Additional reading:

Lenin, *State and Revolution*, chapters IV and VI (sec. 2).

Stalin, *The October Revolution and Tactics*, chapter II (in *Leninism*).

Engels, *Origin of the Family*, chapter 9, especially pages 205-217 (139-147, old ed.).

Questions for discussion:

1. What is the state?
2. What is the difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism? Why is this difference a matter of concern and importance to the working class?
3. In simple words, what is meant by the dictatorship of the proletariat?
4. What mistakes did the Communist Party of the United States recently make with respect to the question of bourgeois democracy? How did this affect the work of the party?

LESSON V

IMPERIALISM—PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM

It is suggested that this topic be covered in two sessions.)

First session

I. WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

A. Final and/or highest stage of capitalism.

(1) Approximately since the beginning of the twentieth century, world capitalism has reached the stage of imperialism.

(2) Transformation of industrial capitalism into finance (monopoly) capitalism.

Examples of this development in the United States: Abolition of chattel slavery, rapid growth of mining and manufacturing, growth of large-scale industry, of trusts and corporations; drive for colonies, etc.

II. MAIN FEATURES OF IMPERIALISM

A. Economic features:

(1) Monopoly capitalism as basic feature of imperialism—concentration and centralization of capital, leads to monopoly. Free competition transformed to monopoly—trusts, syndicates, cartels.

(a) Monopolies play decisive role in economic life (give examples).

(2) The fusion of banking and industrial capital—rise of finance capital.

(3) Export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities.

(4) The economic partitioning of the globe among the international trusts.

(a) Struggles for spheres of influence among the trusts.

(b) United States imperialism and its role in the formation of international trusts.

Struggle over oil (Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell).

Struggle over copper.

General Electric and German Electrical combine.

Give further examples.

(5) Division of world among capitalist powers.

(a) Inevitability of imperialist armed conflicts.

(Examples illustrating this five features from Lenin's *Imperialism—New Data* by Varga—ch. VI.)

B. Political features:

"Politically, imperialism is, in general, a striving toward violence and reaction"—Lenin.

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result of these tendencies is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in this domain also particularly acute becomes the yoke of national oppression and the striving becomes the yoke for annexations, i. e., the violation of national independence. * * *"—Lenin, *Imperialism*.

"* * * the political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line, and increased national oppression, resulting from the oppression of the financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition. * * *"—*Ibid.*

III. IMPERIALISM IS "DYING" CAPITALISM

A. Imperialism completes all material prerequisites for Socialist reorganization of society.

"It is clear why imperialism is moribund capitalism, capitalism in transition to socialism: Monopoly which grows out of capitalism is already capitalism dying out, the beginning of its transition to socialism. *The tremendous socialization of labor by imperialism* * * * means the same thing.—Lenin.

IV. IMPERIALISM INTENSIFIES THE MAIN CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

A. The economic contradictions of capitalism become more severe.

With the domination of monopoly in economic life, there develops a chronic surplus of capital and chronic mass unemployment due to the monopoly policies of restricting production, and maintaining of monopoly prices.

The contradiction between consuming power and producing power becomes even sharper.

Economic crises become even more severe.

As the entire world is drawn into the sphere of imperialist expansion, crises become world-wide in character.

With the withdrawal of one-sixth of the world from the sphere of imperialist exploitation, the economic contradictions facing the capitalist world became even greater.

Development of the "general crisis" of capitalism.

B. All aspects of basic class antagonisms are intensified.

Intensification of the class struggle—growth of revolutionary movements.

Antagonism between the imperialist powers.

Antagonism between big powers and colonial and dependent peoples—growth of the liberation movements in colonial and semicolonial countries.

Antagonism between imperialist powers and the Soviet Union.

(Give examples from present day for each of these points.)

V. INEVITABILITY OF WARS IN ERA OF IMPERIALISM

"War is the extension of politics by other, i. e., forcible, means."

Just and unjust wars: How determined.

Possibility of preventing the outbreak of any particular war through the struggle for a correct foreign policy. Conditions and forces exist which if properly utilized and united in struggle can hinder the outbreak of war and make possible an enduring peace. The extent to which the outbreak of war can be hindered, the duration of the peace, depends upon the outcome of the struggle of contending forces.

Only final and absolute guaranty of peace is the establishment of socialism.

VI. IMPERIALISM AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A. On the basis of "superprofits" wrung from exploited colonial and semicolonial nations, the imperialists bribe a section of the working class in their own nation—they create an "aristocracy of labor" tied to the capitalist class.

B. Political privileges and "sops" are also given to reformist leaders of labor.

C. This provides the economic and political basis for right opportunism in the labor movement, in addition to its earlier class base, i. e., the influence of petty bourgeois ideas within the labor movement.

Reading:

Lenin, *Imperialism*, chapters VII, VIII, IX, and X.

Stalin, *Foundation of Leninism*, introduction and first two pages of chapter I.

Short Course History of the CPSU, pages 167–172.

Additional reading:

Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," *Selected Works*, volume

XI.

Lenin, *Imperialism*, chapters I through VI.

Varga, *The Great Crisis*, chapter II, first four pages.

Varga, *New Data on Lenin's Imperialism*.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What is imperialism? Is it a "policy" of the monopoly capitalists?

2. Why is imperialism "dying" capitalism?

3. What effect does the development of imperialism have on the main contradictions of capitalism?

4. What is the relationship between imperialism and right opportunism in the labor movement?
5. What is the Communist attitude toward wars in the era of imperialism? Is another world war "inevitable"?

LESSON V

IMPERIALISM—PRESENT-DAY CAPITALISM—CONTINUED

Second session

VII. THE MILITARY DEFEAT OF FASCISM AND ITS EFFECT UPON WORLD IMPERIALISM

A. Weakens reaction and fascism everywhere; opens the way for the complete destruction of fascism in Europe and Asia; weakens world imperialism as a whole.

B. Has resulted in the *relative* strengthening of American imperialism; American imperialism becomes the most powerful imperialist force in the world threatening the aspirations of the people of the world for peace, democracy, and progress.

C. Has given impetus to the national liberation struggle of all oppressed nations.

D. Has brought forth a new anti-Fascist people's unity in Europe marked by the formation in a number of countries of democratic governments representative of the will of the people.

E. Has enhanced the influence and unity of labor on a world scale.

F. Has increased the strength and influence of the Soviet Union.

(Examples should be given of each of these.)

VIII. MISTAKES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONNECTION WITH IMPERIALISM

"In the recent period, especially since January 1944, these mistakes consisted in drawing a number of erroneous conclusions from the historic significance of the Tehran accord. Among these false conclusions was the concept that, after the military defeat of Germany, the decisive sections of big capital would participate in the struggle to complete the destruction of fascism and would cooperate with the working people in the maintenance of postwar national unity. The reactionary class nature of finance capital makes these conclusions illusory. This has been amply demonstrated by recent events revealing the postwar aims of the trusts and cartels which seek imperialist aggrandizement and huge profits at the expense of the people.

"This revision of Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the role of monopoly capital led to other erroneous conclusions such as to * * * the possibility of achieving the national liberation of the colonial and dependent countries through arrangements between the great powers.

—National convention resolution.

"Finally, this right-opportunist deviation also tended to ignore, revise, or virtually discount the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, declaring wrongly that the changed and changing forms of their expression indicated that they had ceased to operate in the period of the general crisis of capitalism."

—National convention resolution.

IX. RESPONSIBILITIES AND PRESENT TASKS OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR AN ENDURING PEACE

A. The fight to check the reactionary policies of American imperialism.

B. Forces that can be mobilized for anti-Fascist national unity.

C. The most immediate issues.

Reading:

Foster, *The Menace of American Imperialism* (pamphlet).

National convention resolution on the *Present Situation and New Tasks*, part I, sections 1, 2, 3, 4; and part II, sections 5 and 6.

Puerto Rico and the Struggle Against United States Imperialism, *Political Affairs*, October 1945.

Correspondence between Prestes and Foster, *Political Affairs*, October 1945.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What has been the effect of the military defeat of fascism upon world imperialism? Upon American imperialism specifically?
2. What mistakes did the Communist Party of the United States make in its attitude toward imperialism in the past period?
3. What are the main tasks faced by the American Communist Party with respect to American imperialism in the next period?

LESSON VI

THE NEGRO QUESTION

I. IMPORTANCE OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

A. Relation of the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people to liberation of the working class.

(1) "Labor in the white skin can never emancipate itself where labor in the black skin is branded" (Marx).

B. Negro people powerful and indispensable ally of the working class, as a basic part of struggle for democracy and the fight for socialism.

C. Status of the Negro people in America today.

(1) How the Negro people are oppressed.

Economic oppression; discrimination in employment, etc.

Political oppression—discrimination in civil rights, suffrage, etc.

Special oppression—discrimination in housing, education, transportation, recreation, etc.

(2) Enforcement of discrimination by Jim Crow laws and customs, and by violence, the worst form of which is lynching.

II. THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

A. The Communist approach to the national question.

(1) The Marxist definition of a nation; common history, territory, language, culture, and economic life.

"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture." *Marxism and the National Question* by Stalin.

(2) The right of nations to self-determination.

"The right of self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal.

—Stalin, *Ibid.*

(3) The Soviet solution of the national question.

The right of self-determination of nations.

Complete equality in every sphere of life.

The Soviet Union—a voluntary federation of nations.

B. The national character of the Negro question.

(1) National characteristics of the Negro people in the light of the above definition.

(2) The fight for national liberation of the Negro people—for full equality.

(3) The necessity for further study and analysis of the question was recognized by the national convention of the CPUSA.

"Above all, we must deepen the theoretical understanding of all Communists, Negro and white, on the fundamental nature and far-reaching implications of the Negro question and conduct a vigorous struggle to root out every manifestation of open or concealed white chauvinism in our own ranks. As one step toward this end, we should create a special commission to undertake a basic study of the conditions and trends of the Negro people in relation to the broad social, economic, and political movements in America and the world today, and, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory; to formulate a comprehensive definition of Communist policy and program on the Negro question."

III. THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO LIBERATION

A. The goal: The right of self-determination.

B. The main immediate demands as outlined by the national convention CPUSA—including:

"Defend the wartime gains of the Negro workers in industry."

"Insure full benefits of all veterans legislation to Negro veterans; guarantee jobs, opportunity, and security for all returning veterans and war workers, regardless of race, creed, or color."

"End Jim Crow, establish permanent FEPC on State and National scales. Abolish the poll tax and the white primary. End every form of discrimination in the Armed Forces. * * *

"Establish full and equal opportunity for schooling, including college education. * * * Adopt special safeguards for guaranteeing education, vocational training, and job opportunities for Negro youth. * * *

Need for maximum mobilization of all democratic forces behind these demands, with special emphasis on the role of labor.

C. The problem of combating white chauvinism.

(1) What is white chauvinism?

Any act, attitude, expression, conscious or unconscious, based on the concept of white superiority.

(2) Elimination of white chauvinism in all its forms—the duty of all Communist Party members—the special responsibility of white party members.

IV. MISTAKES IN RECENT POLICY ON THE NEGRO QUESTION BY THE CPUSA

"The opportunist errors of our former general policy limited the effectiveness of Communist work on the Negro question. This was especially expressed in our glossing over the national character of the Negro question, and in our unwarranted illusion that the big bourgeoisie themselves would carry forward after VE-day the wartime gains of the Negro people. * * *

"It is true that we continued to proclaim our uncompromising demand for full Negro rights, and in many cases fought hard and effectively against Jim Crow practices, especially in the interests of the war effort. However, the struggle for the national liberation of the Negro people as fundamentally related to the whole struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation and oppression was often lost sight of.

"Moreover, our revisionist policies narrowed the scope and weakened the vigor of such struggles, even causing us at times to soft-pedal the struggle to eliminate Negro discrimination in the Armed Forces. * * *

"* * * the abolition of the Communist organization in the South * * * undermined the foundations for consistent and effective struggle for the needs and aspirations of the masses of the South, especially the Negro people. * * *

—National convention resolution.

Reading:

Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, chapters I and II.

James Allen, *Negro Liberation* (pamphlet).

National Convention Resolution on the Present Situation and Next Tasks, section 7 in part II.

Claudia Jones, article, January 1945, *Political Affairs*.

Chekalin, *The National Question in the Soviet Union* (pamphlet).

Additional reading:

Stalin, *The National Question, The October Revolution and the National Policy of the Russian Communists*, *The National Question* (extract from series of lectures).

Allen, *Reconstruction and The Negro Question in the United States*.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. Why is the Negro question of importance in the struggle for the liberation of the working class?

2. What is a nation? What is meant by the right of nations to self-determination? How has this principle been applied in the Soviet Union?

3. Why do we consider the Negro question a national question? What conclusions follow from this for our policies? What mistakes did our party recently make on this question?

4. What is white chauvinism? How can white chauvinism be combated?

5. What main tasks face our party in the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people?

LESSON VII

SOCIALISM

I. THE SOCIALIST REORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

A. Establishment of the political power of the working class—the foundation of Soviet power.

(1) Achieved through Revolution—i. e., a fundamental change in the class control of society.

B. Socialization of the means of production.

C. The principle of economic planning and the operation of the national economy by and for the people through their State organizations.

D. Socialism—the first stage in development toward Communism.

(1) Elimination of classes under socialism; laying the basis for the final elimination of all remnants of class differences.

(2) Abolition of exploitation of man by man. Elimination of capitalist remnants in economy and in the minds of the people.

E. The principle of distribution in a socialist society: from each according to his ability to each according to the quantity and quality of his labor.

F. In a Communist society, products are distributed on the basis of "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs."

II. SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

A. Victory of socialism has been achieved in the Soviet Union.

(1) Socialist system of economy in Soviet Union—Industrialization; collectivization of agriculture.

(2) Elimination of antagonistic classes in the Soviet Union.

(3) The Soviet Constitution reflects the present social relations and the final victory of socialism.

B. Soviet Union—a community of nations living in harmony—national equality.

C. The foreign policies of the U. S. S. R. (outline policies since inception).

(1) The role of the Socialist Soviet Union in the war against fascism.

(2) The Red Army of the Soviet Union.

D. Victory of socialism in Soviet Union (in one country) split world economy into two systems.

(1) Break in imperialist chain.

II. PREREQUISITES FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

A. Objective conditions.

(1) Development of modern productive forces.

"So long as the total social labor only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labour engages all or almost all of the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labor, arises a class freed from directly productive labour, which looks after the general affairs of society * * * etc. It is therefore the law of division of labour that lies at the basis of division into classes * * * But if * * * division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social condition. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. *It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces * * * The abolition of classes * * * presupposes * * * the development of production carried out to a degree at which the appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous but economically, politically, intellectually, a hindrance to development.*"

—Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

(2) The effect of the development of imperialism.

"Now we must say that objective conditions for the revolution exist throughout the whole system of imperialist world economy, which is an integral unit; the existence within this system of some countries that are not sufficiently developed from the industrial point of view cannot form an insurmountable

obstacle to the revolution * * * because the system as a whole has already become ripe for revolution."

—Stalin, *Foundation of Leninism*.

The "front of capitalism" will be pierced first "where the chain of imperialism is weakest", not necessarily in the most developed nation industrially.

* Possibility of achieving socialism in one (or a few countries) as a result of the uneven development of capitalism.

B. Subjective conditions.

(1) Readiness of the working class to fight for socialism.

(a) Working class must learn necessity for socialism through their own experience and with help of the Marxist party.

(b) Existence of a "national crisis affecting both the exploited and exploiters."

"It is not sufficient for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the "lower classes" do not want the old and when the "upper classes" cannot continue in the old way, then only can the revolution be victorious."

—Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, etc.*

(2) Existence of a Marxist-Leninist party capable of leading the working class and the majority of the people to the achievement of socialism.

(a) Role of party in helping working class to see the need for socialism based on their own experience.

IV. ERRORS OF THE CPUSA WITH RESPECT TO SOCIALISM

"Browder's line is a rejection of the Marxian-Leninist perspective of socialism. Obviously, if world capitalism, under the leadership of Comrade Browder's beneficent American monopolists, can overcome its inner contradictions and produce an era of well-being and capitalist progress such as Browder sees ahead, the whole question of socialism is reduced to a mere abstraction. Browder accepts this logic and has abandoned the advocacy of socialism even in a purely educational sense. * * *

—Foster, *The Struggle Against Revisionism*.

Reading:

The Soviet Constitution.

History of the CPSU, chapters 3, 6, 7.

Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism*, chapters 1, 2, and chapter 3 part 4.

Stalin, *Foundation of Leninism*, chapter III, part 3.

National convention resolution on the *Present Situation and New Tasks*, part 1, section 4.

Additional reading:

History of the CPSU, chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

Stalin, *The October Revolution and Tactics in Leninism*.

Readings in *Leninism*, volume on the *Proletarian Revolution*.

Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, chapters 4 and 5.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What is socialism? Communism?

2. Why was socialism victorious in the Soviet Union?

3. What is a revolution? What are the essential preconditions for the socialist revolution?

4. How does the struggle for immediate demands help to develop each of the subjective conditions for socialist revolution? In this connection, what mistakes did the American Communist Party make in the recent period?

LESSON VII

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

I. WHAT IS THE PARTY?

A. The political party of the working class.

1. Without a political party representing the vanguard of the working class, representing both the immediate as well as historical class interests of the working class, it is impossible for the working class to achieve socialism.

2. The party rises and grows out of the conditions and struggles of the working class under capitalism—the party in the United States springing from American soil. (See preamble to constitution, CPUSA.)

3. The party is the vanguard of the working class, but it can win this position in the eyes of the workers only through proper tactics and strategy. Its policies must be tested *in action*.

In the United States it is essential that the Communist Party eliminate obstacles to proper relations with labor movement which developed under the revisionism.

B. Main features of the Communist Party which mark it as a party of a new type, distinct from the social-democratic parties:

1. The party as a *vanguard* of the working class: the highest form of organization of the working class; a political guide on the path to socialism.

(a) "The party must stand at the head of the working class; it must see further than the working class; it must lead the proletariat and not follow in the tail of the spontaneous movement."

—Stalin, *Fundamentals of Leninism*.

(b) The party must also embody the connection of the vanguard with the working class. "The party cannot be only a vanguard detachment. It must at the same time be a detachment of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibers of its being."

—Stalin, *Ibid*.

2. The party is an *organized detachment* of the working class, with its own discipline and unity of will and action.

(a) *Principles of membership* in the Communist Party (quote from the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States and discuss the meaning of these sections):

(1) Who can be a member? (Constitution of CPUS, art. II.)

"Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purpose of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership" (sec. 1).

"Any person eligible for membership according to section 1, who accepts the aims, principles, and program of the party as determined by its constitution and conventions, who holds membership in and attends club meetings, who is active on behalf of the party, who reads the party press and literature and pays dues regularly, shall be considered a member" (sec. 2).

"An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least one member of the Communist Party. Such application is subject to discussion and decision by the club to which it is presented" (sec. 3.).

(2) The rights and duties of party members—see article IV, Constitution of the CPUS.

(b) The *basic form* of party organization—the party club, see article VI, Constitution of the CPUS.

(c) The party is organized on the basis of the principles of *democratic centralism*—see articles VI, VII, Constitution of CPUS.

(1) The minority subordinates itself to the decisions of the majority.

(2) The membership elects the leading committees of the party and carries out the decisions of these leading bodies as the seat of authority between conventions, which are the highest authority of the Communist Party.

(3) The role of leadership in the Communist Party.

(d) The source of *unity and discipline* in the Communist Party.

"Iron discipline in the party is impossible without unity of will and without absolute and complete unity of action on the part of all members of the party. This does not mean of course that the possibility of a conflict of opinion within the party is thus excluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion within the party. Least of all does it mean that this discipline must be 'blind' discipline. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after a discussion has been closed, after criticism has run its course and a decision has been made, unity of will and unity of action of all party members become indispensable conditions without which party unity and iron discipline in the party are inconceivable."

—Stalin, *Fundamentals of Leninism*.

(e) The practice of *criticism and self-criticism*.

"The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is, and how it in *practice* fulfills its obligations toward its *class* and the toiling *masses*. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party, that is the way it should educate and train the *class*, and then the masses."

—Lenin, *Selected Works*, volume X.

III. THE PARTY AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

A. Necessity for waging uncompromising struggle against opportunism from both the "right" and the "left."

B. The Communist Party is strengthened in the present struggle against revisionism.

IV. PREVIOUS ERRORS OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT—LIQUIDATIONISM

"The dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association were part and parcel of our revisionist errors and did in fact constitute the liquidation of the independent and vanguard role of the Communist movement * * *

"A flagrant expression of this liquidation was the abolition of the Communist organization in the South * * *

"The correction of our revisionist errors demands the immediate reconstitution of the Communist Party and guaranteeing the reestablishment of the Marxist content of its program, policies, and activities."

—National convention resolution on the present situation and next tasks.

V. PRESENT TASKS IN CONSOLIDATING AND STRENGTHENING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

See reading material—the Foster and Dennis articles, and the national convention resolution in particular.

In carrying out our organizational tasks, the key consideration to be always borne in mind is the necessity for *concentration* of all party work toward establishing its main political influence and strongest roots among the working class, especially in the basic industries and large shops.

"* * * the key to fulfilling our Communist responsibility to the working class and the Nation is not only in correct policy but in our ability to carry out this correct policy. That is where we must adhere to a fixed course—not through more talk but above all a fixed course of action.

"* * * To make the American working class conscious of its role as the best defender of the interests of the Nation and all the working people, and to prepare it to assert its independent organized power, is not only the central task of our party today but a responsibility which can be fulfilled in life itself. * * *

"We Communists must adopt a program of concentration tasks as part of that necessary fixed course from which we must not deviate. * * *

—National convention report on the constitution of the Communist Party of the United States.

Reading:

Williamson, Report on Constitution of CPUSA—September 1945 *Political Affairs*.

Foster, Building the Communist Party—*The Worker*, September 23.

Foster, The Struggle Against Revisionism, September *Political Affairs* (1945)—part II.

Resolution of Present Situation and Next Tasks—*National Convention*—part II, *ibid*.

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, chapter VIII (*The Party*), chapter II (*The Method*).

History of the CPSUW—Pages 46-52.

Eugene Dennis—"America Needs the Communist Party," October *Political Affairs*.

John Williamson—"The Reconstitution of the Communist Party"—September *Political Affairs*.

Additional reading:

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, chapter II and IV and appendix section IV.

Thorez, *Organizational Problems of the Communist Party of France—August 1945, Political Affairs*.

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What is meant by the statement that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class?
2. What is democratic centralism?
3. On what is the unity and discipline of the Communist Party based?
4. What is Communist criticism and self-criticism? What is its role?
5. What is meant by the struggle against "right" and "left" opportunism?
6. Why did our past revisionist policies lead to liquidationism?
7. What main tasks do we face in building the party in the next period?

LESSON IX

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

I. STRATEGY AND TACTICS—SCIENCE OF WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP

A. Main aim: Winning majority of the working class for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism—for socialism.

B. The main characteristic of Leninist strategy and tactics.

1. "The main thing now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account the fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and "left" doctrinairism as well as the concrete *peculiar features* which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in accordance with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition, its colonies, religious divisions, etc. * * * Now all efforts must be concentrated on * * * seeking out the forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution."

—Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism*, pages 71-72.

2. Essence: Find main link which will set large numbers of masses into motion and prepare them for final struggle.

II. STRATEGY

A. Dependence of strategy on the theory and program of Marxism.

1. "From a study of the objective processes of capitalism in their development and decline, the theory of Marxism arrives at the conclusion that the fall of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat, and the replacement of capitalism by socialism, are inevitable. *Proletarian strategy may be considered truly Marxist only when it makes this fundamental conclusion of the theory of Marxism the basis of its operations.*"

—Stalin, *Strategy and Tactics of Russian Communists*.

B. Principal features of strategy—plan and direction of party policy during an entire historical period. Direction of main blow and distribution of forces. Remains unchanged during entire period, changes only with new stage of revolution.

"The most important task of strategy is to determine the main direction to be taken by the movement of the working class, the direction along which the proletariat can most advantageously deliver its main blow against its enemy in order to achieve this aim outlined in the program" (Stalin).

C. Strategic leadership involves the mobilization of all possible allies for the working class, and of all splits in the ranks of its enemies during the given period.

"It is possible to conquer this most powerful enemy only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively, and skillfully taking advantage of every 'fissure,' however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries; among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie of the various countries, by taking advantage of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable, and conditional."

—Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, etc.*

III. TACTICS

A. Tactics subordinate to strategy—deals with forms of struggle and forms of organization or working class, changing with new tasks and new political situation.

"At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of these objectively unavoidable dialectics of human history, utilizing, on the one hand, the periods of political stagnation, or periods when things are moving at a snail's pace along the road of so-called 'peaceful' development, to increase the class consciousness; strength, and fighting capacity of the advanced class; on the other hand, conducting this work in the direction of the 'final aim' of the movement of this class."

—Lenin, *Marx-Engels—Marxism*.

B. What determines tactics?

1. "In determining its line of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle."—Program of the Communist International.

2. Tactical tasks of the Communists—developing partial and immediate demands corresponding to everyday needs of workers—united front tactics toward class mobilization and exposure of monopolists, reformists, etc.

3. Tactical leadership involves:

(a) Utilization of the proper forms of struggle needed at the time under the given circumstances.

(b) Location of the single "link" in the chain of events which if grasped properly will lead the way to strategic successes.

4. The difference between revolutionary and reformist tactics.

IV. THE TACTICS OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS

A. Seventh World Congress develops new tactical orientation:

1. To direct main blows and concentrate all forces for struggle against main enemy of humanity, fascism.

2. Tasks of working class assume new character—forms of united front and people's front develop.

Working class united front—labor unity.

The anti-Fascist people's front—broad coalitions of all opponents of fascism and reaction.

(Give historical examples of the application of the united front and anti-Fascist-front tactics throughout world, during the war against fascism and today.)

B. Relation of people's front tactics and the struggle for socialism.

1. "In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties, and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow Fascist dictatorship, the working class prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies, and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—socialism."

2. The struggle for socialism in the present period does not mean elimination of immediate demands but is intimately related.

V. OUR PROGRAM OF ACTION TODAY

A. Tasks of the American working class in the struggle for welding together and consolidating broadest coalition of all anti-Fascist and democratic forces against imperialist reaction.

1. Elaborate by summarizing our program of action as contained in the national resolution "The Present Situation and the Next Tasks."

B. Relationship of this program of action to the struggle for socialism.

1. "However, this program of action will help the working class and the people as a whole to meet their urgent immediate practical needs, enhancing generally their strength and influence in the nation. In the struggle for the program for peace and democracy, jobs, and security, favorable conditions are created for the masses of our people to recognize, on the basis of their own experiences, the need for the eventual reorganization of society along Socialist lines.

—Resolution of national convention, CPUSA.

VI. RELATION OF OUR TACTICS TO REVISIONISM

A. "Our opportunism abetted by fact that in the midst of energetically supporting and waging this national liberation war, we often confused the woods for the trees, and tended to evaluate or raise short-term tactics and transitory phenomena to the level of strategy or a 'new theory'"—Eugene Dennis, Report to national convention, June, 18.

(1) Forgot Lenin's warning: "To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the windings of political trivialities, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat and the main features of the entire capitalist system as well as the whole capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these basic interests for the sake of real or would-be advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism. And it obviously follows from the very essence of such a policy that it may assume an infinite variety of forms and will give rise to one or other variety of revisionism, each time when there is some 'new' question, or when there is more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though this turn changed the basic line of development to but an insignificant degree and for but the shortest period of time."

—Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, page 77.

Reading:

Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, chapter VIII, Strategy and Tactics.

History of the CPSU, chapter III, section 3, pages 62-77.

Dimitrov, *Working Class Unity, Bulwark Against Fascism* (Report to Seventh World Congress of the Communist International), pages 17-40, 59-83.

Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder* (Principal Stages in the History of Bolshevism), chapters VIII, IX, and X.

Resolution on the Present Situation and Next Tasks, National Convention, CPUSA, sections 1 through 5.

Additional reading:

Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*.

Readings in Leninism Volume on Strategy and Tactics (Review, chapters VI and VIII).

Suggested questions for discussion:

1. What is the foundation of Leninist strategy and tactics? Why are they necessary?
2. What is the difference between strategy and tactics?
3. What is the difference between Leninist tactics and reformist tactics? Between Leninist tactics and those of the "left" opportunists?
4. What errors in tactics did the Communist Party of the United States make in the previous period?
5. What is the present tactical line of the American Communist Party? How is this related to the struggle for socialism?

CORRECTIONS OF FUNDAMENTALS OUTLINE

Page 2, point B: "Those who have and those who have not"—scientifically inexact. Should read: "Those who own the social means of production and those who are compelled to labor in order to produce a surplus for the owners." "The exploiters and the exploited."

Page 2, point C:

Marxism "laid the essence." Should read "laid bare * * *"

Analysis of laws, etc., after the words "necessity of," include "and the forces driving to socialism."

Page 3, point D: "Present errors" should read "past errors."

Page 4, point A 2: "A system of money" etc., *system* of money is meaningless, Money as measure of value, etc., existed long before capitalism.

Point II C: "Beyond the value of his labor power, i. e., his wages—" should read: "Value of his labor power *represented* by his wages. Wages are not the value but the *price* of labor power."

Page 5, point B 3: "To force the value of labor power (i. e., wages) down." Again wages are not the *value* but the *price* of labor power.

Page 5, point B 5: "Ultimate tendency for capitalist state to take over direction of production"—incorrect formulation—too categorical—too sweeping. The tendency is for the development of elements of state capitalism—the intervention of the state in economic life to a greater or smaller extent.

"Tendency to increasing concentration"—concentration and centralization are not tendencies but results from absolute *law* of capitalist accumulation.

Page 6, point V A: "Finally rejected in 1928." Uo. Finally rejected in 1929.

Statement of theory of American exceptionalism too narrow. Denial of impending cyclical crisis was conclusion. Lovestone drew from theory of exceptionalism. The theory itself claimed that development of American monopoly, technique, and reserves exempt the U. S. A. from the contradictions of capitalism, and provide possibilities for organized planned economy of extended prosperity, etc.—the "golden age" or "Victorian age."

Page 8, point 1 A: "Since the era of primitive communism," more correct—era of tribal communal society. The word "communism" should not be used in characterizing the primitive societies in order to distinguish from modern communism with which it has nothing in common. (See Political Economy in the Soviet Union and Letter of Stalin, Kirov, and Zhdanoff on the Teaching of History.)

Page 9, point B 2: "Schools for communism" does not explain itself necessarily. Should have been developed in the outline.

Point B 3: Historical limitations of trade-unions cannot be limited to comparison of "trade-union and Communist 'politics'" in an abstract way. The main point involved is the historical impossibility of the trade-union struggle *by itself* to (a) permanently consolidate the economic position of the working class, (b) to abolish the source of exploitation and oppression, (c) to develop Socialist consciousness.

Page 12, point II A 3: In view of paramount importance of the question today, limitations of bourgeois democracy should have been fully developed instead of being merely stated.

Page 13, points B 1 and 2: Incorrect definition of the Fascist state. It is not the "open and terroristic dictatorship of bourgeoisie" as a whole. It is not merely the "substitution of bourgeois democracy * * * by another state form—open terroristic dictatorship."

The above distorts the class content of the Fascist state.

It is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most imperialist, most chauvinist *section of finance capital*.

Page 13, point III A 1: "Destruction" is too broad—too abstract. More precise and correct formulation is to overcome and crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

Page 18, point I 2: As formulated it is incomplete and unintelligible. Finance capital is the product of fusion of *two* elements, industrial and banking capital.

Page 18, point II 5: "Division of world among capitalist powers" should read "* * * Among *imperialist* powers and the struggle for redivision of the world." That completes the link to the next point—imperialist wars as wars for redivision.

Page 19, section IV A: "As the entire world is drawn into the sphere of imperialist expansion" doesn't make sense. Should read: "As the entire world is involved in one world economic chain as a result of the export of capital and division of the world."

Page 19, section IV, A: On the question of the general world crisis of capitalism. What should be emphasized is (a) begins with World War I and October Revolution, with one-sixth of world removed from sphere of capitalist exploitation, (b) general decline of capitalism on world scale, (c) no room for further expansion. Then follow with the fundamental contradictions of capitalism in its imperialist stage.

Page 20, section VI: This section must be extended to include (a) the last war and the collapse of the Second International, (b) the struggle of Lenin and the Bolsheviks against the social imperialists and the centrist Kautsky, (c) the distinction between just and unjust wars, etc.

The last point (c) can serve to introduce the politically necessary bridge between the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on imperialism and imperialist war and the possibility of just and progressive (national liberation) wars in *the epoch* of imperialism.

From there we should proceed to analyze the character of the war against Fascist imperialism, which is entirely lacking in the outline.

Page 22, point VIII: "Mistakes * * * in connection with imperialism"—too abstract. Content of section deals with reactionary class nature of monopoly capital. Should read: "mistakes * * * in connection with class character and role of monopolies."

Page 28, point III A 2: "Possibility of achieving socialism in one"—eliminate "(or a few countries)." Should read: "in one country." Reason: The question involved is precisely the possibility of socialism in one country. Trotskyism (permanent revolution theory) insists that it is impossible in one country, but must develop simultaneously in all or in a number of advanced countries.

"As a result of the uneven development of capitalism." Cannot be left at that in the outline. Since it is an extremely basic question it should be developed.

Page 28, point III, B: This section confuses the objective and subjective prerequisites of a *revolutionary situation*. Point B belongs under objective prerequisite. Points 1a, and 2a (on p. 29) belongs under subjective.

Page 31, point I. b: "The basic form of party organization—The Party Club." This formulation is insufficient. It is necessary to emphasize the shop organization which is not generally regarded as a club. *Party Branch* might be more inclusive and embrace the shop, branch and neighborhood or community club.

Page 31, point I, c. 2: Necessary to include the party convention as the highest and supreme party authority. Leading bodies are higher authorities between conventions.

Page 34, point II, C: After "and" (in next to last line) include "utilization."

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you another document, which concerns the Pennsylvania edition of the Daily Worker, and which includes a breakdown of the various Communist clubs and sections of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, and I ask you if that is also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes, it is.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing, and that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 94."

Mr. HARRISON. It is so ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 94," is as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH, PA.

For a long time now, our party membership has been hoping for a Communist newspaper of its own which could give much more space to the problems of the workers and other common people of western Pennsylvania.

We now have such a newspaper.

Every Friday the people of western Pennsylvania will be able to obtain the Pennsylvania edition of the Worker. The western Pennsylvania editor of this paper is our own district chairman, Comrade Roy Hudson. An editorial committee, under his leadership, has been established. This will guarantee that both State and local problems of the people will be adequately covered in the pages of the Worker. Many new features are being added to the paper to make it of interest to all members of a worker's family.

The Pennsylvania edition of the Worker now becomes our most important instrument for mobilizing our party members and other workers for a people's victory in 1948. With this paper, we can reach many, many more workers with our party program for the defeat of Fascist reaction in 1948, for a new people's political party, for the defense and extension of our democratic rights and civil liberties including the defense of our own party, for abolition of discrimination against the Negro people and other minority groups, for price control and a higher standard of living, for crushing the warmongers and for peace in the world for a long time to come. The Pennsylvania edition of the Worker, if properly utilized, can be our best educator for socialism.

Increased circulation of the Pennsylvania Worker amongst the steel workers, coal miners, electrical, and other workers will increase the possibilities of their unions playing a progressive role. The larger the circle of readers for the Worker, the more we will be able to recruit for and build our party.

Now that we have the Pennsylvania edition of the Worker, we must guarantee that it becomes permanent, that it is read by many more people than the original Worker was, and that we make possible its playing of a major role as an edu-

cator and organizer for the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania in its leadership of the struggle for peace and progress.

That is why we have decided to organize this Pennsylvania Worker campaign, a campaign to get 750 renewals and new subs and an additional 500 copies per week in bundle orders. If we succeed in this task, and succeed we must, then we will have on January 1, 1948, a circulation of 1,188 subscribers and 785 in bundle orders, or a total circulation of 1,973. And this is only a 45-percent increase over our last year's circulation.

A successful campaign will guarantee two things: First, that the Pennsylvania Worker will become permanent; and secondly, that the basis will have been laid for achieving positive results in the above-mentioned political tasks.

The following chart shows approximately, club by club, what the problem is, what must be done, and suggested club and section objectives for your consideration:

Club and section	Campaign quotas			If successful, our total circulation will be—		
	Subscriptions	Bundles	Total	Subscriptions	Bundles	Total
North Side.....	70	40	110	97	40	137
Hill.....	45	25	70	66	24	91
Squirrel Hill.....	40	25	65	53	25	78
South Side.....	35	20	55	62	30	92
Professional.....	25	15	40	25	45	70
East Liberty.....	20	15	35	30	15	45
Club 90.....	20	10	30	20	10	30
Lawrenceville.....	15	10	25	25	10	35
Penn Township.....	15	10	25	19	15	34
Student.....	15	10	25	15	10	25
J. & L.....	10	10	20	10	10	20
Food.....	10	5	15	11	5	16
Hazelwood.....	10	5	15	20	5	25
Pittsburgh.....	325	190	515	448	235	683
Bentleyville.....	35	20	55	40	20	60
California.....	20	15	35	23	15	38
Washington.....	15	10	25	16	10	26
Clarksville.....	10	10	20	11	10	21
Monnessen.....	10	10	20	15	15	30
Canonsburg.....	10	10	20	10	10	20
Coverdale.....	5	5	10	10	10	20
Washington.....	100	75	175	115	75	190
McKeesport.....	45	25	70	52	25	77
Duquesne.....	20	20	40	24	30	54
Homestead.....	20	15	35	22	25	47
Clairton.....	15	10	25	15	15	30
Monongahela.....	90	65	155	103	85	188
East Pittsburgh.....	50	35	85	51	35	86
Women.....	10	5	15	10	5	15
Serbian.....	10	5	15	10	5	15
Wilmerding.....	15	5	20	19	5	24
East Pittsburgh.....	75	50	125	80	50	130
New Kensington.....	30	20	50	37	35	72
Rural Ridge.....	15	10	25	15	10	25
Oakmont.....	10	10	20	11	10	21
Springdale.....	10	10	20	10	10	20
Tarentum.....	5	5	10	5	5	10
Allegheny.....	70	50	120	78	65	143
Erie.....	40	30	70	46	35	81
Farrell.....	35	25	60	39	40	79
Johnstown.....	10	10	20	13	10	23
Ambridge.....	5	5	10	6	5	11
Portage.....	5	5	10	7	5	12
District.....	90	70	160	106	90	196
Miscellaneous.....				258	185	443
Total.....	750	500	1,250	1,188	785	1,973

In order to accomplish this task, we propose the following to be considered by each section committee and club executive committee. These suggestions are to be used as a basis for developing the club and section plans of work:

1. The next meeting of your section committee and your club shall discuss this campaign, and work out how you will achieve your own objective.

2. Both the club and the section committee must elect a press director who will take charge of this campaign as well as other press work. However, this campaign is the direct responsibility of the club president and club executive committee, as well as of the section organizer and the section committee.

3. Where to get subscriptions:

(a) Our own membership. In our district, over 50 percent of our membership does not get the Worker. Every member of every club can and must be convinced to subscribe to the Pennsylvania Worker. As we register our membership for 1948, we must ask each and every one to become a subscriber. Without this weekly paper, our membership cannot get the necessary knowledge and answers to the big political events of the day. They must get this paper, and read it, in order to be able to convince nonparty workers of our program and mobilize them for action.

(b) Visit the list of those people whose subscriptions have expired or will expire in 1947 and in January 1948, and get them to renew their subscriptions.

(c) Assign members of the club to visit all club contacts for subscriptions.

(d) Ask every club member to draw up a list of his personal friends in the community, in his shop and union, and in his mass organization. Ask him to visit these people. Check up on him every week to see if the assignment is being carried out and what the results are.

(e) The club or section should call a meeting of all our members who belong to a certain union or mass organization to discuss this campaign and to work out the steps for getting subscriptions from the members of that organization. We should keep in mind that many members of language organizations have children who can read English.

(f) The district will print a leaflet which the club should mail to all contacts with a sample copy of the Pennsylvania Worker. This will introduce the paper to your contacts. This leaflet can also be used for selected distribution at concentration shops and areas.

(g) Sections should consider the organization of special squads who will, during the campaign, go visiting contacts in our concentrations in the steel and coal areas, and in the Negro community.

4. Bundle orders.

(a) Every club should get a minimum bundle of five copies a week. Certainly every club has at least five contacts to whom a copy could be sold once a week.

(b) Some people may want the paper but for some reason, do not want to receive it through the mail. The club must deliver the paper to these people every week.

(c) Delivery routes can be established, especially in projects as well as in communities. Now that the bundle arrives on Friday, the club can arrange for delivering the paper on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. This will make the establishment of a route easier.

(d) Each club should try to get at least one newsstand in the community to take a bundle of five papers, with the guaranty that the club will give credit for what is not sold. After a certain time goes by we will see that bundle increase.

(e) Our comrades working in shops should be talked to as to whom they can sell a copy of the paper every week.

(f) Arrangements should be made to sell the paper either before or after a membership meeting of every union and mass organization that takes place in the community. Once a week, the paper should be sold at the shop gate where we are concentrating our activities.

5. During this campaign for the Pennsylvania Worker, we must also obtain 100 subscriptions to the Daily Worker as well as increase our Daily Worker bundle orders by 100. Most of the above suggestions can apply to the Daily Worker also. But one thing we must guarantee, and that is that every member of the club executive, of the section committee, of the district committee, and all party members who are stewards, board members, and officers of unions and mass organizations become regular readers of, and subscribers to, the Daily Worker. Those who do not read the Daily Worker regularly cannot be effective in their leadership to their organizations and the people generally.

6. This campaign for our press is so important that our party has decided to give special recognition to those of our members who deliver the goods. We

have therefore decided on the following prizes to be distributed when the campaign is concluded, on the basis that—

A 1-year subscription to the Worker equals three points.

A 6-month subscription to the Worker equals one point.

A 1-year subscription to the Daily Worker equals five points.

A 6-month subscription to the Daily Worker equals two points.

A 3-month subscription to the Daily Worker equals one point.

(a) The club with the highest number of points: Special recognition at a press conference in the district which will be presented by an editor of the Daily Worker and Worker.

(b) The comrade in the district with the highest number of points (minimum required is 150 points), 1 week's free vacation, winter or summer, at a worker's camp, or its equivalent.

(c) The comrade in the district with the second-highest number of points, a set of Lenin's works, or its equivalent.

(d) The comrade in the district with the third-highest number of points, two books, autographed by the authors, or its equivalent: Philip S. Foner: History of the Labor Movement in the United States. William Z. Foster: American Trade-Unionism.

(3) For every comrade in the district who gets a minimum of 15 points, any book by Howard Fast.

With the reactionaries in our country working overtime, our tasks are much greater than ever before. The building of our press is a key job that we must carry through in order to win the masses. If we put our noses to the grindstone, our press objectives will be accomplished.

ROY HUDSON, *District Chairman*;
WM. ALBERTSON, *District Secretary*;
BEN CAREATHERS, *City Chairman*,
Campaign Committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you another document, entitled "Memorandum on Youth Work and Policy," dated November 29, 1945, and ask you if this is also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes; it is.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing, and that the document be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 95."

Mr. HARRISON. It is so ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 95," is as follows:)

MEMORANDUM ON YOUTH WORK AND POLICY

(Adopted by national board, November 29, 1945)

The dangerous neglect by the party of work among the youth during the period of revisionism would be completely disastrous if continued at present. The generally increased consciousness of party responsibilities toward the youth and the establishment of a national youth commission and youth commissions in many States must now be taken as the starting point for a serious change in the development of this phase of our party activity.

This memorandum is intended to clearly define our policy in regard to the main aspects of youth work and to lay the basis for systematic direction of this work by our national and State committees.

In its drive toward world domination, American imperialism and the Truman administration will to an increasing degree strive to regiment the youth for reactionary purposes and thus open the way for the most reactionary and Fascist elements to try and secure a mass base among the youth, unless this threat is successfully met by the labor and progressive forces of the Nation. The grave dangers of reactionary influences among the youth are evident in the efforts being made to turn veterans, of whom a majority are young people, against labor; in the Hearst-backed Youth for Christ movement, and in the recent high-school outbreaks of anti-Negro violence in a number of States that are increasingly coupled up with attacks on labor and Red baiting.

Moreover, the monopolies and the administration show a callous disregard for the evermore acute problems of employment, job training, education, and veteran needs that face millions of youth and threaten them with the prospect of being another "lost generation." These problems must be faced boldly and effectively by labor, the youth movement, and our party, by aggressively developing a program for jobs, training, and education for youth.

Fundamentally American youth emerge from this war with a deeper anti-Fascist consciousness and with aspirations for the future that can, despite the efforts of reaction, be readily transformed into a strong youth movement as part of the anti-Fascist democratic camp. It primarily on the basis of struggle for their own needs and in the fight against such measures to mobilize youth for imperialist purposes as Truman's proposal for military training that the youth can be mobilized for the anti-Fascist democratic coalition and as a close ally of labor. In this struggle youth will also gain the experience and understanding this generation lacks because it did not participate in labor struggles and the youth movement before the war. They will be won for democracy instead of reaction.

The basic task before all labor and progressive forces and particularly the Communists is to win and unite the youth for the struggle against fascism and war, for jobs, security, and democracy. We can learn much from the experiences of the American youth movement of the 1930's. We can also learn from other nations—from the disaster of Germany where fascism won the youth, as well as from the inspiring examples of France, Yugoslavia, Italy, liberated China, where the youth were in the forefront of the anti-Fascist movements.

The main tasks of the party are—

1. Aid in establishing joint action and unity of the broadest sections of youth on specific issues and a broad minimum anti-Fascist democratic program.
2. Support and build the organization and activity of the most advanced anti-Fascist youth—the American Youth for Democracy.
3. Develop systematic Communist Party work and Marxist education among the youth and give party guidance and direction to young Communists active among the youth.

WIN THE YOUTH FOR AN ANTIFASCIST PROGRAM

1. The vast majority of American youth (workers and students) and their organizations, can be united in effective action both on a national and local scale on a broad minimum program and various specific issues. Our party must strive consistently to help promote unity of action aimed at the mobilization of existing democratic organizations of youth and their collaboration with the labor movement. This, of course, calls for aid in strengthening all democratic organizations of youth and helping to influence them toward effective participation in the broad coalition of anti-Fascist democratic forces. Here it is only necessary to indicate the most immediate minimum responsibilities:

(a) Help to build and strengthen the *movement* of youth and student organizations for united support on a national and local scale to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and its program recently established at the World Youth Conference in London. The United States delegation, a representative one, apparently played a very constructive role on the basis of a fully unified position.

(b) Mobilize and unite all the youth, including students and their organizations, on the widest basis against the imperialist policies of the Truman administration, with particular attention to the building of a movement against the Truman proposals for universal military training. Help to establish a broad network of youth and student committees composed of youth leaders and veterans against the specific proposals before Congress, while making clear that we are not against the principle of military training for youth.

(c) Help to influence and direct the labor movement as well as youth organizations to take up the fight for the economic and social needs of youth and promote joint action between labor and youth on these problems.

SUPPORT AND BUILD THE AYD

2. The more advanced and consistent anti-Fascist youth, in the first place the working-class youth, must be organized in an effective *independent* movement closely allied with labor as the necessary backbone of a broad unity of a majority of youth and their organizations. This is essential because the major youth organizations, though democratic in character, are adult-led and bourgeois-dominated and, therefore, subject to inconsistencies and vacillations.

Moreover, they do not represent the majority of young people. They must be stimulated and influenced in the direction of anti-Fascist unity especially by strengthening the influence of independent organization of consistently progressive and advanced sections of youth and students.

Today the most important and effective channel for organizing and promoting effective action of the advanced anti-Fascist youth is the American Youth for Democracy. It would be the crassest mistake to minimize the importance of this organization or to fail to give it effective assistance in overcoming its present critical situation. The party, like the labor movement, must help it to develop as an organization of substantial membership and influence.

It is being built as a progressive, interracial, anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist organization endeavoring to draw its membership in the first place from among working youth, young veterans, the Negro youth, and progressive students. In its membership, leadership, and activities, it strives toward developing the unity of Communists and youth of other progressive political views and nonparty youth who are prepared to participate in an advanced anti-Fascist and prolabor youth organization. It aims at being closely identified with the broad progressive labor and people's movement which includes the Communists, striving particularly to promote close collaboration with the progressive trade-union movement.

Its program and activity will be based primarily upon militant struggle for the needs of youth which are closely linked to the problems of labor and the people generally and upon education of the youth in an anti-Fascist, anti-imperialist working-class spirit. Its practical activity today emphasizes the fight for jobs, training, and education for youth and veterans; against universal military training; for full economic social and political equality for Negro youth; for world youth unity in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and for unity of the American youth and their organizations around these same questions. It should be influenced to aggressively combat Red baiting, pacifism, and other reactionary influences among the youth.

The AYD should develop the most varied activities and forms of organizations based upon the needs and interests of young people in education, culture, recreation. It, however, does not aim at competing in the promotion of social and recreational activities with any other youth organization, but its unique character is expressed precisely in the fact that it aims to be a popular, interesting youth organization combined with militant struggle and consistent education.

While opening its membership to all youth interested in any aspect of its activity or program and promoting the most diversified forms of popular education, the AYD strives to develop a basic understanding of modern society (of monopolies, imperialism, the role of labor, etc.) and particularly directs youth to explore the possibilities and problems of the future that are being opened up by the discovery of atomic power and the growing influence of the democratic forces, including the Soviet Union.

Such an approach to education and activity will afford an opportunity to the Communists to present their views on all questions of interest to the youth, including the Marxist approach to establishing a new social order. Advanced young people desiring to engage in basic study, including the study of Marxism have, in the AYD, the opportunity to voluntarily develop such study within the organization. The present programmatic position of the AYD which stands for a "new world" in which "insecurity, poverty, want, and oppression have been abolished" is a generally adequate programmatic basis for promoting widespread discussion and consideration of the future in the light of the democratic and Socialist forces at work in the world today.

The building and strengthening of the AYD which is already widely accepted as one of the family of youth organizations, will immediately effect the entire course of the youth movement to no small degree. It will strive to promote unity of the existing youth organizations and particularly to crystalize and broaden forces and forms of organization of the more advanced anti-Fascist youth and students.

In this connection, we wish to direct attention to two particular aspects of extending organization of the most progressive and consistently anti-Fascist forces of the youth movement:

(a) The possibility already exists and is being discussed in some student circles of the early development of an independent anti-Fascist student organization of federated character representing the most progressive section of the student body and much more extensive than the AYD intercollegiate division. This is very important in the light of the anticipated return to the colleges of nearly a

million veterans. We, of course, wish to promote unity of the entire democratic student body on a broad democratic program and various issues. What is being projected here is the aim of bringing together the more advanced anti-Fascist forces within this movement into a new organization of a federated type. The building of AYD college clubs and Communist work among the students should therefore, be directed toward helping progressive students to realize the objective of establishing a broad national federation of *independent progressive student clubs of various types, including the clubs of the AYD, on a progressive anti-Fascist program.*

(b) In the South the strengthening and building of the Southern Negro Youth Conference by all labor and progressive forces, including the CP is imperative to develop a broader movement of progressive Negro and white youth in the South.

In relation to the AYD, the party should specifically give assistance through:

(a) Improved guidance to Communists active in the youth movement.

(b) Training and assigning personnel, especially from among returning veterans to the youth movement.

(c) Mobilize support in the labor-progressive movement to the AYD and its activities; particularly to build its membership, carry through its activities, circulate its literature, etc.

(d) Publicizing its activities in the party press and other mediums.

WIN THE AMERICAN YOUTH TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

3. Fulfillment of its responsibilities to the Nation and to the youth requires that the Communist Party shall drastically improve its work and organization among the youth. It must be established that responsibility for work among the youth and concern with youth problems is the responsibility of the entire party organization and all of the committees.

The main character of Communist work among the youth should be twofold:

(a) To strengthen our mass work among the organized youth, especially in relation to building the AYD at this time and giving the necessary direction and assistance to your Communists and the entire party organization in properly understanding the fulfilling of these responsibilities.

(b) Recruiting young people to the party on a mass scale, aimed at making the entire party a more youthful organization, developing Marxist education among the youth, and training personnel for Communist work among the youth both in the mass movement and the party itself.

There is at present a tendency to see only one side of this responsibility, that is, the independent work of the party with a consequent failure to appreciate the fact that *all* efforts of the party are basically directed to influencing the masses of the youth. Tendencies toward a sectarian approach to youth work or "liquidationist" attitudes toward the AYD must be vigorously combated.

There is a considerable discussion in party ranks on the question of reestablishing the Youth Communist League as well as considerable divergence of opinion on policy in the youth field. The prolongation of this discussion without an authoritative answer has only served to disorient the party and Communists active in the youth movement. This is particularly true wherever the discussion has been permitted to take the form of posing the question of whether there should be an AYD or a YCL rather than considering the real problem of what are the best forms of organized Communist work and Marxist education among the youth. It is our considered opinion that a YCL should not be reestablished; that this would tend to be a step backward rather than moving forward to find forms for the most effective work of the Communists among the youth. Moreover, all past experience has indicated that a YCL tends to become a Communist Party of the youth rather than a genuine nonparty mass organization. There is need for careful consideration of all problems of organization and activity among the youth by our party especially seeking those methods which in practice have proven to be effective. Only more extended experience will fully answer the question of what forms of activity and organization are most suitable. The following approach is proposed:

1. The national committee and all State committees of the party must establish functioning youth commissions representing leading party forces from various fields of work including comrades active in youth work. In setting up the commissions special attention should be given to enhancing their ability to develop Communist education among the young workers, special attention to college youth, and helping influence and guide all sections of the youth movement. A national youth director must be assigned to work with the National Youth Commission.

2. Regional conferences of party leaders and forces active in youth work shall be convened in the East, Midwest, and west coast on the basis of this memo.

3. The National and State youth commissions should undertake at their first task to develop a discussion throughout the party on youth problems, the youth movement and the responsibilities of the labor and progressive movement including our own party.

4. Special literature and other material directed to youth should be issued by our party. The circulation of such material will in itself help to orient the party toward a better understanding of its responsibilities.

5. In the coming party recruiting drive special emphasis must be placed upon recruiting young workers.

6. Youth committees and special educational activities for young people should be established in all party clubs where this is feasible, whether community, industrial or shop clubs.

7. Party clubs or groups should be established immediately among college students under the guidance of competent party leadership and one of the most important immediate tasks before them is to develop a network of student Marxist study groups on a broad informal basis.

8. Party "Young Peoples Clubs" or "Youth Clubs" should be established where advisable. Such clubs now exist in a few cities, composed largely of leading young Communists active in the youth movement. These clubs should be open to any young people joining the Communist Party if they prefer to enter them instead of the regular community clubs. At the present time, pending further consideration and experience, these clubs apparently serve a useful purpose in bringing our active youth forces together, in giving them guidance and Marxist education. At the same time we strongly warn against permitting such clubs to hamper the development of other new forms of activity or organizations, against allowing these clubs to become an excuse for avoiding full responsibility for youth work by other party organizations; and against a tendency to remove young Communists from mass work by involvement in inner party work related to these specific clubs.

9. Attention should be given to achieving the integration of young people into the regular party organization especially in the shop and industrial organizations with special study groups and other activities developed in and around the party club to meet the needs of young Communists and young people interested in studying Marxism in a systematic way, and to stimulate their activity around youth problems.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you a document headed "Discussion outline for the fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill," which was issued by the national educational department of the Communist Party, and ask you if this is also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes. This is one of the documents I subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied in the transcript of this hearing, and that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 96."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 96," is as follows:)

DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST THE MUNDT-NIXON BILL

(Issued by national educational department, Communist Party)

I. AN ATTEMPTED BLITZ TO DESTROY THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Comrade Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the party, rightly characterized the sudden passage of the Mundt-Nixon bill in the Senate Judiciary Committee by a 12-to-1 vote as an attempt to engineer a "Pearl Harbor on the Bill of Rights," a sneak attack before the people can organize a defense. This method is typical of the Fascist-minded reactionaries like Mundt, Nixon, and Ferguson. They know that, if time is allowed for the people to be clear about the real nature of the bill, and organize their forces, it cannot and will not pass. Because

of these blitz tactics, the most urgent attention must be paid to the issue. It must be the No. 1 issue for all Communists, all progressives, all labor organizations. Only quick, decisive, militant, unsparing efforts can defeat this police-state measure which represents a grave peril to labor and the people.

II. A GESTAPO POLICE STATE BILL TO OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND DESTROY ALL PROGRESSIVE LABOR UNIONS AND PEOPLES ORGANIZATIONS

The Mundt-Nixon bill is a Fascist measure. It is a hundred times worse than the Taft-Hartley bill. It is a thought-control bill. Senator Langer said, "This bill, if enacted, would constitute the greatest threat to our American civil liberties since the alien sedition law of 1796." This is stating it mildly. The bill would outlaw the Communist Party and other organizations. If the Mundt bill becomes law, the Bill of Rights would be dead and buried.

III. THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD NEVER COMPLY WITH SUCH A BILL

William Z. Foster, as chairman of the party, has stated during the last fight against this bill that, if it were passed, the Communist Party would never comply with this bill because it is illegal and unconstitutional. This remains the party's position. Foster gave three reasons why the party would not comply. These were:

1. Would not perjure itself by admitting any resemblance to the Hitler-like caricature of its nature and purposes set forth in the bill.
2. Would not become an accomplice in proposed murder of Bill of Rights.
3. Would not expose its members to persecution and blacklisting in employment.

IV. MAIN FEATURES OF THE BILL

S. 2811 is entitled "The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950." Section 2 makes a "legislative finding" that there is a "world-wide revolutionary political movement" whose nature and purposes are described according to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* caricature.

Note that this section of the bill is so fantastic that it states as "fact" charges the prosecution did not even dare to make in the Foley Square frame-up.

On the basis of this big lie, the bill would make certain requirements of (a) "Communist political organizations," and (b) "Communist-front organizations."

EVERYBODY KNOWS THERE IS ONLY ONE "COMMUNIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION" IN THE UNITED STATES—AND THAT IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Section 7 would require the Communist Party, within 30 days after enactment, to register with the Attorney General—giving past and present names and addresses of all its members, the sources of its funds, and record of expenditures.

Section 8 would subject individual Communist Party members to fines and imprisonment if they did not *individually register* in the event that their names were omitted from this list. Sections 5 and 6 would prohibit Communists from holding Government jobs, running for public office, securing or using a passport, and so forth.

Section 11 would require the Communist Party to stamp all its mail and publications with what amounts to a "poison" label.

"Communist-front organizations" would be subject to similar though slightly modified restrictions. *Any* organization, trade-union, peace group, fraternal society, etc., whose program or policy coincides in *any way* with those of the Communist Party would be required to register, although not to give the names and addresses of its individual members. If its officers refused to comply, *membership in such organization would become illegal*, and individuals who failed to resign promptly would also be subject to fine and imprisonment.

Section 13 places power in a three-man, President-appointed Board the power to determine which organizations shall be known as "Communist political organizations," and which as "Communist-front organizations."

Standards for making this determination include "the extent to which its policies effectuate the policies of a foreign government"—(read peace) "the extent to which its policies do not deviate from those of such foreign government or of the Communist political organization"—(read peace, equal rights, other aspects of CP immediate program) * * * "the extent to which it fails to disclose its membership * * * and its meetings are secret," etc., etc.

V. BILL NOT AIMED AT COMMUNISTS ALONE—ALL LABOR AND PROGRESSIVES * * *
 PARTICULARLY MILITANT UNIONS

1. The fake description of the nature of the Communist movement and the other provisions of this bill would give power to a politically appointed board, according to Senator Langer, to "outlaw associations of citizens whose views are considered by it to be dangerous. Under these vague powers, trade unions and other organizations, which may seek to alter the status quo or oppose this or that government policy by lawful means—would be branded as traitorous agents of foreign governments or movements" * * *

2. Senator Kilgore in a letter to Chairman Pat McCarran of the Senate Judiciary Committee said that the Mundt bill was fundamentally a sedition bill and that "such bills would enslave labor and should be called slave bills."

3. *Here, it must be pointed out that labor unions, particularly progressive-led unions, are more vulnerable to attack today than in 1948.* This is so because of the expulsions from the CIO and similar red-baiting attacks in the A. F. of L. By referring to Murray's statements, progressive unions that have been expelled "for following the CP line" could be called Communist-front organizations and be ordered to register.

VI. THE FAKERY THAT THE MUNDT BILL IS AIMED ONLY AT MAKING THE COMMUNISTS
 WORK OPENLY

1. From the outset Mundt has tried to create the impression that the bill is not intended to outlaw the Communists. It would only make the Communists "operate in the open." This is a huge fake, as was proven in the Daily Worker editorial on March 7, 1950. Said the editorial:

"Let's follow the Senator's logic as he tries to put over this measure. This bill provides for 10 years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for persons who seek to establish a totalitarian dictatorship under the domination of any foreign government, foreign organization, or individual. Mundt's bill then specifically states that the Communist movement seeks to carry out the above aims.

"Then the bill provides for the registration of the CP and every CP member and every organization which the House un-Americans chose to call a 'communist front.'

"Come out into the open and admit you are a criminal who should spend 10 years in jail—that is what the bill says in so many words."

2. Mundt says that he only wants to make Communists register as do Republicans and Democrats. This is fakery too. Democrats and Republicans are not obliged to register. Registration of Democrats or Republicans is voluntary. No citizen is obliged to register his political affiliation under present laws. But if this goes through it will not be long before everyone will be obliged to register first his political affiliation, next his religious faith.

On the question of working openly, it must be said that the Communists do work openly. Whenever they keep their membership private, it is because every organization has a right to keep the membership private. Labor unions do not make their lists public and regard efforts to do so as threatening a blacklist. In fact the CIO pointed out in 1949:

"The provision in the bill that resistance to efforts to obtain membership lists is a hallmark of a 'Communist political organization' is particularly objectionable to labor organizations which have learned through long experience that the submission of such lists is the first step to a *blacklist* through which an organization may be completely destroyed."

4. Under present conditions, it is difficult to make one's political affiliation known. If Mundt is really interested in having Communists function fully publicly, then he should accept the challenge of the DW editorial March 9, 1950, which called on him "to introduce a bill immediately declaring it to be a crime for any employer—public or private—to discriminate against any employee because of Communist affiliation and setting up machinery to make the prohibition effective."

VII. BILL TO OUTLAW THE PEACE MOVEMENT—CURB LABOR'S GROWING STRUGGLES—
 WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR IT?

The Mundt bill is another long and decisive step in the process of fascization of the country. Wall Street imperialism is driving toward fascism as part of its drive to war. The war drive has been stepped up and in consequence the attacks on civil liberties have become ever sharper.

* * * * *

1. Wall Street imperialism wants the Mundt bill to stop the growing peace movement which has been spurred forward by the announcement to produce the H-bomb and is finding strong expression in demand for negotiations with the Soviet Union and for the ending of the cold war.

2. The Mundt bill is also the answer of reaction to the miners' victory and to the growing strike movement which is taking place despite and often against the policies and wishes of the labor bureaucrats.

3. The Mundt bill is the attempt of reaction to crush the movement of the Negro people for civil rights.

4. The Mundt bill is a sign of the fears of Wall Street of the growing economic crisis in the country.

5. Responsible are not only the Republicans like Mundt, Nixon, and Ferguson, but also the Democrats. The vote in the Judiciary Committee included Truman Democrats like Frank Graham, Kilgore, and others. They received the green light to support the bill from the Truman administration in the speeches of Attorney General McGrath who called upon the Supreme Court to reverse the Schneiderman decision and from Truman's press conference of March in which he took full credit for launching the anti-Communist drive.

VIII. FOR FEPC NOW—NO MUNDT BILL

To defeat the Mundt bill, it is essential to take up another national issue of civil rights—the fight of the Negro people for civil liberties. The fight against the Mundt bill is intimately tied in with the fight for an FEPC now. They are in reality two sides of the same fight against the repression of the people and for the maintenance and extension of civil rights. The FEPC issue is being sabotaged by the same forces that are pushing through the Mundt bill. The fight for FEPC must be renewed. Now is the time for pressing for the widest mobilization around the issue for FEPC now—no Mundt bill.

IX. UNITY ON THE WIDEST SCALE IS POSSIBLE AND NECESSARY

The fight against the bill is already under way. The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill is in action again. Offices have been opened at 930 F Street NW., Room 514, Washington, D. C. The immediate attack on the bill from all quarters shows that it is possible to achieve the widest front against the bill. This is also imperative since it must be expected that the Hearst-sponsored American Legion conference will go into action in behalf of the bill. A wide, unprecedented line-up can be achieved if—(a) the issues are made clear and if the demagogic arguments are effectively answered especially that it is only aimed at the Communists; that it is merely to get them "to work in the open"; that it has been modified to meet objections regarding constitutionality, etc. It should not be taken for granted that the bill is known. It should be quoted and sections should be explained carefully, precisely, in line with arguments given in DW.

2. Effort must be made to link this bill with the fight for peace. That is central. The Mundt bill is aimed to silence the peace forces. This must be explained clearly to the people. Reaction wants war. The bill would bring war nearer. It should also be linked with relief, rent control, wage increases, etc. In each organization it should be shown how the Mundt bill would stifle the fight for the needs and demands of these organizations.

3. Effort should be made to reach *all* organizations, particularly from below, reaching the branches of local organizations and individuals *without regard to political opinion or differences on other questions*. It is important to involve all kinds of people and make them active and leaders in this fight.

4. Effort must be made to reach social-democratic workers, members and branches of the Liberal Party, ADA, and similar organizations under reformist leadership.

5. Everyone should be lined up—city and town councils, city councilmen, aldermen, State legislators, etc.

In order to line up these forces consideration should be given to *Open Letters* to public officials such as mayors, city council, etc., asking them to take a stand. It is also advisable to address open letters to such organizations as ADA and other so-called liberal bodies where they fail to act.

X. MILITANT TRADE-UNION AND WORKING-CLASS ACTION DECISIVE FOR VICTORY AGAINST MUNDT BILL AND FOR FEPC

But to win, the unions and particularly the progressive unions must step forward into leadership in this fight on a scale like and even far greater than the Taft-Hartley fight.

1. Local unions must be lined up. Shops must be rallied, noon-day meetings should be held addressed by union representatives, shop stewards, etc. Shop gate meetings should be held.

2. Resolutions, telegrams, petitions and other forms of protest should be adopted for the FEPC Now and No MUNDT BILL.

3. Delegations should be sent by shops to Senators and other Representatives, etc. These should be the first steps leading quickly to conferences in which unions play a decisive role, to big *rallies, demonstrations, parades*, and for other protest actions.

It should be clear that in this fight only the widest participation of the people can win.

4. In neighborhoods, various means must be considered to interest and arouse the people. In addition to those already indicated, such measures should be considered: Radio broadcasts; meetings around chain stores with loud speakers; baby-carriage parades; Saturday leaflet distribution, meetings, parades, etc., in big shopping streets, transportation points, etc., house-to-house canvassing; letters to editors and chain letters and similar broad grassroots methods.

XI. WHAT THE CP CLUBS SHOULD DO IMMEDIATELY

1. Discuss the issue—clarify all members—get the widest mobilization and make it central for the next period. See that it is taken up and line of action worked out for each club and individual. Every member must be involved. The greatest initiative should be given to club functionaries. Every encouragement and praise should be given to clubs and individuals for results achieved in rallying people. Functionaries should remember this is a people's fight and the rank-and-file must be aroused and organized, including CP members.

2. Combat two dangers: Underestimation of the dangerous character of the bill or of the danger of passage of the bill, and the other danger—fatalism that it can't be defeated.

3. *On the basis of this fight, raise the financial quotas and push forward the drive for the press.*

MATERIAL

1. Follow Daily Worker and Worker for news, editorials, etc.

2. See public affairs committee bulletin for practical directives of the party in the fight.

3. The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, 930 F Street NW., room 514, Washington, D. C., for material for mass distribution, speakers, etc.

4. On the connection of Mundt bill, FEPC, and the fight for peace and democracy see pamphlet by Joe Clark on H-bomb; also pamphlet by Bob Hall on FEPC.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you a document entitled "Two Speeches by Joseph Stalin," which, according to the introductory note contained in the document, have been translated into the English language for the first time. The two speeches were made by Stalin in 1926, according to the introductory note. I ask you if this is one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes; it is.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing, and that the document be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 97."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 97," is as follows:)

TWO SPEECHES BY JOSEPH STALIN

ON WORK IN THE REFORMIST UNIONS AND UNITED FRONT

(Translated for the first time in English).

Issued by National Education Department, Communist Party, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y. March 1950

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The two speeches of Comrade Stalin, made in 1926, are from his Collected Works, volume 8, and are translated into English for the first time. The first speech on the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee was delivered mainly as an attack on the position of Trotsky and the Trotskyist opposition, which called for the withdrawal of the Russian trade-unions from their alliance with the British unions after the betrayal of the general strike by the General Council of the British unions.

Comrade Stalin opposed this step on the grounds indicated in the speech, since it would cut off contact of the Russian unions with the British trade-union masses. The alliance was broken a year later, in 1927, on the action of the British reformist leaders. In this speech, Stalin not only restates but further elaborates the teaching of Lenin on work in the reformist unions, stressing particularly the harmfulness of attempting to skip over the backwardness of the workers. He points out the necessity of the Communists working in the midst of the masses, assisting them to overcome their political and theoretical backwardness. The united front is the instrument for this purpose, provided that two conditions are fulfilled: the right of criticism of the reformist leaders, whether right or "left" leaders, and activity to win away the workers in the reformist unions from their leaders, both of which the Russian unions successfully did by their united-front policy. The speech, therefore, also makes important contribution to the policy of the united front.

In the second speech, Comrade Stalin directs his fire against right opportunist views of the representative of the British Communist Party, at the time J. T. Murphy. Murphy objected to the criticism of the British reformist leaders by the Russian trade-unions, especially the declaration of the Russian trade-unions against the betrayal of the British miners by the leaders of the British General Council. Here again, Stalin sets forth the Leninist views of the necessity of working perseveringly among the masses in the reformist trade-unions, but doing so along Communist lines, and not relying upon spontaneity to effect a change in the policies and leadership of the unions. Stalin also brings forward the important idea of Lenin that time and experience are necessary for the workers to learn the correctness of Communist policies and slogans and adopt them as their own, and that, if the masses do not do so at once, this is no proof by itself that they are incorrect.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN UNITY COMMITTEE¹

Speech delivered by Joseph Stalin at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee² of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), July 16, 1926:—

¹ The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee was created at the initiative of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions at the Anglo-Russian trade-union conference held in London, April 6-8, 1925. The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee consisted of the chairmen and secretaries of the All-Union Central Committee of the Soviet Union (AUCCTU) and the General Council of the British Congress of Trade Unions, and, in addition, three members of each of these organizations. The Committee ceased to exist in the fall of 1927 due to the treasonable policies of the reactionary leaders of the English trade-unions.

² The combined Plenum of the CC and the CCC of the All-Union Soviet Communist Party (B) (AUCP-(B)), was held July 14-23, 1926. The Plenum discussed the communication of the Politburo about decisions adopted by it in connection with the general strike in England and events in Poland and China, and reports on the results of reelection of Soviets, on the case of Laskevich and others, on the unity of the party, on housing construction, on the campaign for grain procurement. At the plenum J. V. Stalin delivered speeches on the communication of the Politburo about the decisions taken by it in connection with events in England, Poland, and China, on the report of the Presidium of the CCC of the AUCP-(B) concerning the case of Laskevich and other, on the unity of the party, and on other questions. The Plenum approved the actions of the Politburo of the CC and the delegation of the ECCI concerning the international problems and adopted a number of decisions on the most important problems of general government and economic upbuilding, inner party life and condition of workers. The plenum expelled Zinoviev from membership of the Politburo of the CC. (For resolutions of the Plenum, see "AUCP-(B) in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences, and plenums of the CC," part II, 1941, Russian edition, pp. 103-121.)

Comrades, we are living in the period of the gathering of forces, a period of winning the masses and preparing the proletariat for new battles. But the masses are to be found in the trade-unions. The trade-unions of the West, the majority of them, are at present more or less reactionary. What are we to do about the trade-unions? Should we, can we Communists, work in reactionary trade-unions? This is the substance of the question posed by Trotsky in his letter published recently in Pravda. There is, of course, nothing new in this question. It was brought up prior to Trotsky some 5 years ago by the "ultra-leftists" in Germany. Yet Trotsky has found it necessary to state the problem anew. And how does he answer this question? Allow me to quote from Trotsky's letter.

"The entire present-day superstructure of the British working class—in all of its shades and groupings—forms an apparatus which serves as a brake on the revolution. This foreshadows for a long period of time a restraining pressure upon the framework of the old organizations and the formation on the basis of this pressure of new revolutionary organizations." (See Pravda, No. 119, May 26, 1926.)

It follows from this that we must not work in the "old" organizations if we do not wish to put the "brakes on the revolution." Now, according to this view, either we already find ourselves in a period of immediate revolutionary situation and must at once create new organizations of the proletariat *instead* of "old ones," instead of the trade-unions, which is, of course, wrong and foolish, or else this view holds that we must over an "extensive" period of time gradually replace the old trade-unions with "new revolutionary organizations."

This is a signal to organize *in place* of the existing trade-unions those very "revolutionary workers' unions" about which the "ultraleft" of Germany spoke some 5 years ago and against which Lenin spoke so decisively in his pamphlet "Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder." This is in reality a signal to substitute the present trade-unions with "new," seemingly "revolutionary" organizations; hence, a signal for withdrawing from the trade-unions.

Is this a correct policy? It is incorrect in its very essence. It is basically incorrect because it is in conflict with the Leninist conception of leadership of the masses. It is incorrect because the trade-unions of the West, despite their reactionary character, are the most elementary, the most comprehensive organizations of the most backward workers, hence they are the widest mass organizations of the proletariat. We cannot go to the masses, we cannot win over the masses, if we bypass these unions. To accept Trotsky's viewpoint would mean to bar the way for the Communists to the many millions of masses; it would mean to hand over the masses of workers to be devoured by Amsterdam,³ by the Zassenbachs, and the Oudegests.⁴

We heard here from the Oppositionists references to Comrade Lenin. Will you permit me also to quote Lenin's directives.

"And we cannot but consider the ponderous, very learned, and frightfully revolutionary disquisitions of the German Lefts on why Communists cannot and should not work in reactionary trade-unions, why it is permissible to refuse to do such work, why it is necessary to leave the trade-unions and to create in their stead brand-new, clean little 'workers' unions,' invented by exceedingly nice (and, for the most part, probably, very youthful) Communists, etc., etc., to be equally ridiculous and childish nonsense" (Selected Works, vol. X, Left-Wing Communism, p. 90).

And further:

"But we wage the struggle against the 'labor aristocracy' in the name of the masses of the workers and in order to attract them to our side; we wage the struggle against the opportunist and social-chauvinist leaders in order to

³ The reference is to the Amsterdam International of trade-unions, founded in July 1919 at the international congress in Amsterdam. This International consisted of the reformist trade-unions of the majority of western European countries and the American Federation of Labor. The Amsterdam International carried out a reformist policy, openly cooperated with the bourgeoisie in the International labor bureau and in various committees of the League of Nations; fought against the united front in the labor movement and was hostile to the Soviet Union, as a result of which its influence in the working-class movement kept on declining. During the Second World War, the Amsterdam International actually stopped functioning. In connection with the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Amsterdam International was liquidated in December 1945. (Note by National Education Department: The AFL joined the Amsterdam International at the beginning but withdrew later and rendered its support as against the Red trade-union International.)

⁴ Zassenbach and Oudegest, secretaries of the Amsterdam International of reformist trade-unions, leaders of the right wing of the International.

attract the working class to our side. To forget this most elementary and self-evident truth would be stupid. But the German 'Left' Communists are guilty of just this stupidity when, *because* of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the heads of the trade-unions, they jump to the conclusion that * * * it is necessary to leave the trade unions! to refuse to work in them! to create new, *artificial* forms of labor organizations! This is an unpardonable blunder equivalent to the greatest service the Communists could render the bourgeoisie" (*Selected Works*, vol. X, Left-Wing Communism, p. 93).

I think, comrades, further explanation is superfluous.

Now the question has arisen of skipping over these trade-unions of the West which have not outlived their reactionary traits. This question was dragged to the platform by Zinoviev. He quotes Martov and tries to convince us that our viewpoint of the incorrectness of skipping over—the viewpoint that it is impermissible for Marxists to skip over the backwardness of the masses, over the backwardness and reactionary character of their leaders—that this viewpoint is Menshevik. I maintain, comrades, that this crude maneuver of Zinoviev with reference to Martov only proves one thing—of the complete departure of Zinoviev from the Leninist line. I shall attempt to prove this later along.

Generally speaking, can we as Leninists, as Marxists, skip over a movement which has not yet run its course, skip over the backwardness of the masses? Can we turn our backs on them, bypass them, or *must we* get rid of such phenomena by means of a tireless struggle among the masses against these conditions. This is one of the basic questions of Communist policy, one of the basic questions of Leninist leadership of the masses. The Oppositionists spoke here of Leninism. Permit me to refer to prime sources, to Lenin.

The scene takes place in April 1917. Lenin is polemicizing with Kamenev. Lenin does not agree with Kamenev, who overestimates the role of petty bourgeois democracy. But Lenin also does not agree with Trotsky, who did not attach sufficient importance to the role of the peasant movement and was for skipping over the peasant movement in Russia. Here are Lenin's words:

"Trotskyism: 'No Tsar, but a workers' government.' This, surely, is wrong. There is a petty bourgeoisie, it cannot be ignored. But it is made up of two groups. The poorer of the two is with the working class" (Lenin's *Collected Works*, vol. 20—*Speech at the Petrograd Conference* in April 1917, p. 207).⁵

"Had we said: 'No Tsar, but a Dictatorship of the Proletariat—it would have meant a *leap over* the petty bourgeoisie" [Emphasis by Stalin] (Lenin's *Collected Works*, vol. 20—*Speech at the All-Russian Conference* in May 1917, p. 287).⁶

And further:

"But are we not in danger of falling into subjectivism, of wanting to '*skip*' the bourgeois-democratic revolution—which has not yet been completed and has not gone through the peasant movement—and thus to arrive at the Socialist revolution?"

"This danger might threaten me, were I to say: 'No Tsar, but a *workers'* government.' But I have not said this, I have said something else. * * * In my theses I have absolutely insured myself against any *skipping* of the peasant and other *petty bourgeois movements* which are still in existence, against any playing with the 'conquest of power' by a workers' government, against any kind of Blanquist *adventure*, for I directly referred to the experiences of the Paris Commune." (Lenin's *Collected Works*, vol. 20—*Letters on Tactics*, pp. 123-124.) [Emphasis by Stalin.]

It would seem clear, then, the theory of *skipping over* a movement which has not yet run its course is a Trotskyist theory. Lenin is not in agreement with this theory. He considers it adventurist.

And here are a few more quotations taken from the works of a certain "very prominent" Bolshevik, whose name I shall not mention for the moment, but who also fights against the theory of skipping over.

"On the question of the peasantry, over which Trotsky is '*skipping*' all the time, we would be committing the gravest errors. Instead of the beginnings of an alliance, we would be having a complete falling apart."

⁵ See V. I. Lenin, Works, 3d ed., vol. XX, p. 182. This page refers to Russian edition; pages in English volume are given in text of this speech.

⁶ See V. I. Lenin, Works, 3d ed., vol. XX, p. 253. This page refers to Russian edition; pages in English volume are given in text of this speech.

And further:

"Such is the 'theoretical' basis of Parvisism and Trotskyism. This 'theoretical' basis was later made into political slogans such as, for example, the slogan 'Without the Tsar, but a government of the workers.' This slogan at the present time, 15 years after it was issued, when together with the peasantry we have won Soviet power, sounds rather respectable. 'Without the Tsar'—that's good. 'A government of the workers'—that's still better! But if we remember that this slogan was advanced in 1905, then every Bolshevik will agree that at that time this slogan completely skipped over the peasantry."

And further:

"But the 'permanentists' in 1905 wanted to tag the slogan 'Down with the Tsar and for a government of the workers.' But where is the peasantry? Don't we have the painful spectacle here of a complete ignoring of the peasantry in such a country as Russia? And if this is not skipping over the peasantry, then what is it?"

And further:

"It lacks an understanding of the role of the peasantry in Russia, a skipping over of the peasantry in a peasant country. Trotskyism has not been able to understand the role of the peasantry in the international revolution."

You will ask, and who is the author of these stormy quotations against Trotskyism and against the Trotskyist theory of skipping over? The author of these stormy quotations is no other than Zinoviev. These quotations are taken from his book, "Leninism," and from an article by Zinoviev on "Bolshevism or Trotskyism."

How could it happen that a year ago Zinoviev was able to understand the anti-Leninist nature of the skipping over, while now, a year later, he has ceased to understand it? This happened to him because then he was, so to say, a Leninist, while at present he is hopelessly stuck with one foot in Trotskyism and with the others in Shlapnikovism, in "workers' opposition."⁷ And now he is teetering between these two oppositions and is forced to appear here on this platform with Martov in his hands. And who is he arguing against? Against Lenin. And for whom? For the Trotskyites. This is how far Zinoviev has fallen.

Some will say that all this concerns the question of the peasantry, that it has no relation to the trade-unions in England. But this is wrong, comrades. What has been said of the unsuitability of the theory of skipping over in politics has direct bearing on the trade-unions in England and in Europe generally; it bears a direct relationship to the problems of leading the masses, to the problem of the ways and means of freeing the masses of the influence of reactionary reformist leaders. Trotsky and Zinoviev, following the theory of skipping over, are attempting to skip over the backwardness of the British trade-unions, over their reactionary traits, and are trying to get us to depose the General Council of the British Trade Unions from Moscow *without* the English masses. And we insist that such a policy is stupid, adventurism, that the reactionary leaders of the British trade-union movement must be deposed by the *very masses* on the British trade-unionists themselves *with our help*; that not skipping over the reactionary nature of the trade-union dealers is demanded, but aid to the British trade-unions to rid themselves of such leaders.

You see that there does exist a connection between policy in general and policy in reference to the trade-union masses.

And are there no directives on this from Lenin? Listen to this:

"Trade-unions represented enormous progress for the working class at the beginning of the development of capitalism as the transition from the disunity and helplessness of the workers to the *rudiments* of class organization. When the highest form of proletarian class organization began to arise, *viz*, the *revolutionary party of the proletariat* (which does not deserve the name until it learns to bind the leaders with the class and with the masses into one single indissoluble whole), the trade-unions inevitably began to reveal *certain* reactionary traits, a certain craft narrowness, a certain tendency toward becoming nonpolitical, a

⁷ "The Workers Opposition"—an antiparty, anarchistic-syndicalistic group, which existed in Russian Communist Party (B) and was headed by Shliapnikov, Medvedev, etc. This group formed during the second half of 1920 carried on a struggle against the Leninist line of the party. The tenth congress of the Russian Communist Party (B) censured "the workers opposition" and resolved that the propagandizing of ideas of an anarchistic-syndicalistic nature was incompatible with membership in the Communist Party. Later the remnants of the defeated "workers opposition" became interlocked with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

certain inertness, etc. But the development of the proletariat did not, and could not, anywhere in the world, proceed otherwise than through the trade-unions, through their interaction with the party of the working class" (Lenin's Selected Works, vol. X, Left Wing Communism, pp. 90-91).

And further:

"To fear *this* 'reactionariness,' to try to *avoid* it, or skip it, is the greatest folly, for it means fearing to assume the role of proletarian vanguard, which implies training, educating, enlightening and drawing into the new life the most backward strata and masses of the working class and the peasantry." (Lenin's Selected Works, vol. X, Left-Wing Communism, p. 91.)

This is how things stand with the theory of skipping over in relation to the trade-union movement. Zinoviev had better not come here with Martov in his hands. It would have been better for him to have kept silent concerning the theory of skipping over. It was not necessary for Zinoviev to swear by Trotsky's name. We knew even without that that he had departed from Leninism toward Trotskyism.

That is how things stand, comrades, with Trotsky's theory of skipping over the backwardness of the trade-unions, over the backwardness of the trade-union movement, of skipping over the backwardness of the mass movement in general.

Leninism is one thing.

Trotskyism is something different again.

We have now come to the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. It has been said here that the Anglo-Russian Committee represents an agreement, a bloc of the trade-unions of our country and the trade-unions of England. That is entirely true. The Anglo-Russian Committee represents a bloc, an agreement between our trade-unions and the English trade-unions, and this bloc is not devoid of political character.

This bloc has before it two tasks. The first task consists of establishing a contact between our trade-unions and the trade-unions of England, of organizing a movement of unity against the offensive of capital, of widening the existing breach between Amsterdam and the British trade-union movement which we shall widen by all means possible; and finally it consists of preparing the conditions necessary for pushing out the reformists from the trade-unions and for winning over the trade-unions of the capitalist countries to the side of communism.

The second task of this bloc consists in organizing a wide movement of the working class against imperialist wars in general, and against intervention in the affairs of our country on the part of the most powerful imperialist states of Europe in particular, especially that of England.

The first task was discussed here in sufficient detail. I shall therefore not dwell upon it. I should like to say here a few words about the second task, especially that part which has to do with intervention in our country on the part of the English imperialists.

Some of the Oppositionists state that it is not worth talking about this latter task of the bloc of our trade unions and the English trade unions; that this task is not an important one. Why, may we ask? Why is it not worth talking about? Is the task of defending the security of the world's first Soviet republic, which is the mainstay and base of the international revolution, not a revolutionary task? And are our unions independent of our party? And do we adhere to the point of view of the independence of our unions, holding that the state is one thing and the unions another? No, as Leninists we do not and cannot take such a position. Every worker, every worker organized into trade unions, must be concerned with the defense of the world's first Soviet republic against intervention. And if the trade unions, even though they be reformist, is it not clear that this is to be welcomed? On to the Menshevist path stumble those who think that our unions are not able to handle problems of state. This is the position of the "Socialist Herald" (Sozialisticheski Vestnik).⁸ We cannot accept such a position. And if the reactionary trade unions of England are ready to form a bloc with us against the counterrevolutionary imperialists of their country—then why should such a bloc not be welcomed?

I underscore this side of the matter because our Opposition, which is trying to undermine the Anglo-Russian Committee, should understand that at least, that it is adding grist to the mills of the interventionists.

⁸ "The Socialist Herald" (Sozialisticheski Vestnik)—a magazine—the organ of the Menshevik white emigrants; founded by Martov in February 1921. Until March 1933 it was being published in Berlin; from May 1933 to June 1940 in Paris; and at the present time it is published in America (USA). The Sozialisticheski Vestnik is a mouthpiece of the most reactionary imperialist circles.

And so the Anglo-Russian Committee is a bloc of our trade-unions with the reactionary trade-unions of England for the purpose, firstly, of strengthening the ties of our trade unions with the trade-union movement of the West and revolutionizing it, and secondly, for the purpose of struggling against imperialist wars in general and against intervention in particular.

But is it possible in general—and this is a question of principle—is it possible in general to form political blocs with reactionary trade-unions? Are such blocs, generally speaking, permissible for Communists?

This question confronts us directly and we must here resolve it. Some think such blocs are not permissible—our Oppositionists think so. But the Central Committee of our Party think such blocs are permissible. The Oppositionists mention Lenin's name here. Let us refer to Lenin.

"Capitalism would not be capitalism if the 'pure' proletariat were not surrounded by a large number of very mixed transitional types, from the proletarian to the semiproletarian (who earns half his livelihood by the sale of his labor power), from the semiproletarian to the small peasant (and petty artisan, handicraft worker and small proprietor in general), from the small peasant to the middle peasant, and so on, and if the proletariat itself were not divided into more or less developed strata, divided according to territorial origin, according to trade, sometimes according to religion, and so on. And all this makes it necessary—absolutely necessary—for the vanguard of the proletariat, for its class-conscious section, the Communist Party, to resort to manoeuvres and compromises with the various groups of proletarians, with the various parties of the workers and small proprietors. The whole point lies in *knowing how* to apply these tactics in such a way as to *raise* and not *lower* the general level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and to conquer" (Lenin's Selected Works, vol. X, *Left Wing Communism*, pp. 115-116).

And further:

"It is true that the Hendersons, the Clynes, the MacDonalds and Snowdens are hopelessly reactionary. It is also true that they want to take power in their own hands (although they prefer a coalition with the bourgeoisie), that they want 'to govern' according to the old bourgeois rules and, when they do get into power, they will certainly act in the same way as the Scheidemanns and Noskes. All this is true. But the logical conclusion to be drawn from this is not that to support them is treachery to the revolution, but that in the interests of the revolution, the revolutionaries in the working class should give these gentlemen a certain amount of parliamentary support" (Lenin's Selected Works, vol. X, *Left-Wing Communism*, p. 123).

And thus, according to Lenin it follows that political agreements, political blocs of Communists with reactionary leaders of the working class are entirely possible and permissible. Let Trotsky and Zinoviev remember this.

But for what purpose in reality do we need such agreements?

For the purpose of obtaining access to the working masses, for the purpose of enlightening these masses regarding the reactionary nature of their political and trade union leaders, for the purpose of tearing away from the reactionary leaders those portions of the working class which are moving toward the left and becoming more revolutionary; hence, for the purpose of heightening the fighting ability of the working class as a whole. For this reason blocs of such a nature may be formed only on the basis of two fundamental conditions: when there are safeguards for the freedom of criticism of the reformist leaders, and when there are safeguards which allow for winning away the masses from the reactionary leaders. Here is what Lenin says regarding this:

"The Communist Party should propose to the Hendersons and Snowdens that they enter into a 'compromise,' an election agreement, viz, to march together against the alliance of Lloyd George and the conservatives, to divide the seats in Parliament in proportion to the number of votes cast for the Labour Party and the Communist Party respectively (not at parliamentary elections, but in a special ballot), while the Communist Party retains *complete liberty* to carry on agitation, propaganda, and political activity. Without the latter condition, of course, no such *bloc* could be concluded, for that would be an act of betrayal; the British Communists must insist on the secure complete liberty to expose the Hendersons and the Snowdens in the same way as (for 15 years, 1903-17) the Russian Bolsheviks insisted on and secured it in relation to the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens, i. e., the Mensheviks" (Lenin's Selected Works, vol. X, *Left-Wing Communism*, p. 128).

And further:

"The petty-bourgeois democrats (including the Mensheviks) invariably vacillate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and the Soviet system, between reformism and revolutionariness, between love for the workers and fear of the proletarian dictatorship, etc. The proper tactics for the Communists to adopt is to *utilize* these vacillations and not to ignore them; and utilising them calls for concessions to those elements which are turning toward the proletariat in accordance with the time and the extent they turn toward the proletariat—while simultaneously fighting those who turn towards the bourgeoisie. *As a result of the application of correct tactics, menshevism in our country became and is becoming more and more disintegrated, the stubbornly opportunist leaders are becoming isolated, and the best workers, the best elements among the petty-bourgeois democrats, are being brought into our camp.*" (Italics by Stalin) (Lenin's Selected Works, vol. X, *Left-Wing Communism*, pp. 116-117)

Such are the conditions for forming a bloc, without which no blocs of any kind, no agreements of any kind are permissible with the reactionary leaders of the trade-unions. Let the opposition remember this also.

The question then arises, does the policy of our trade-unions correspond to the conditions spoken of by Comrade Lenin. I think that it fully corresponds to these conditions.

First, we have fully maintained for ourselves complete freedom of criticism regarding the reformist leaders of the English working class and have utilized this freedom with a completeness which has not been used by any other Communist Party in the world. Secondly, we have obtained access to the working masses of England and have strengthened our ties with them. Thirdly, we are successfully winning away and have already torn away from the reactionary leadership an entire detachment of the English working class. I am referring to the breaking away of the miners from the leaders of the General Council.

Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamanev have very studiously tried here to bypass the question of the Conference of the Russian and English miners in Berlin and of their Declaration.⁹ And yet this is the most important single fact of recent times. Who are these people, Richardson, Cook, Smith, Richards? Opportunists, reformists. Some of them call themselves left, others right. Let them. History will reveal who of these was or was not more to the left. It is difficult for us to determine this at present. But one thing is clear. That these wavering reformist leaders, who are leading 1,200,000 striking miners, have been torn away by us from the General Council and have been connected as links of a chain with our unions. Is this not a fact? Why is the opposition silent about it? Is it possible that the opposition is not happy about the successes of our policy? And the fact that Citrine now writes that he and the General Council are agreeing to the convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee, does this not result from the fact that Schwartz and Akoulov have succeeded in bringing over Cook and Richardson to their side, while the General Council, frightened by the prospect of an open *fight* with the miners, was forced to give in for the convocation of the Anglo-Russian Committee?

Who can deny that all these facts speak of the success of our policy, that all this speaks of the complete fiasco of the policy of the opposition.

And so blocs with reactionary leaders of trade-unions are permissible. They are necessary under certain conditions. Freedom of criticism is the first of these conditions. It is being fulfilled by our party. The tearing away of the working masses from the reactionary leaders is the second condition. This condition is also being fulfilled by our party. Our party is right. The opposition is not right.

The question is, what else do Zinoviev and Trotsky want of us? They want that either our Soviet trade-unions should break with the Anglo-Russian Committee, or else that they should, from here, from Moscow, depose the general council. But this is foolish, comrades. To demand of us that we should from Moscow, by *bypassing* the trade-unions of the English workers, *bypassing* the

⁹ The conference of representatives of the British Federation of Miners and the Miners' Union of the USSR was held in Berlin July 7, 1926. The Conference discussed the problem of continuing the campaign for help to the English miners who were struggling against a lockout. The conference adopted a declaration "To the workers of the world" with an appeal for their energetic support of the English miners, and recognized the need for the speediest convocation of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. For the maintenance of contact and for the realization of unity of revolutionary action of the Union of Miners of the USSR and the International Federation of Miners, the conference deemed it desirable to create the Anglo-Russian Miners Committee.

English trade-union masses, *bypassing* the English trade-union cadres, that we should skip over them and from here, from Moscow we should overthrow the general council now. Isn't this silly, comrades?

They demand a demonstrative break. But is it so difficult to understand that this will bring nothing but confusion? Is it so difficult to understand that in making such a break we lose contact with the English trade-union movement, push the English trade-unions into the arms of the Zassenbachs and Oudegests, that we shake the foundations of the tactic of the united front, gladden the hearts of the Churchills and the Thomases, and receive nothing in return but embarrassment? Trotsky takes, as the starting point of his policy, affected gestures (gestures made for the sake of effect) and not actual people, not specific, living workers living and struggling in England, but rather some sort of idealized people, without flesh, people that are supposed to be revolutionary from head to foot. But is it so difficult to understand that only senseless persons can base their policy upon ideal, unreal people? So this is why we think that the policy of affected gestures, the policy of overthrowing the general council of Moscow, by means of Moscow's forces only, is a ridiculous, adventurist policy.

A policy of gestures is a characteristic trait of Trotsky's entire policy over the whole period that he has been in our party. The first application of this policy we saw during the period of the Brest-Litovsk peace, when Trotsky did not sign the German-Russian peace agreement but made an affected gesture against the agreement, assuming that by means of a gesture it is possible to arouse the proletarians of all lands against imperialism. That was a policy of gestures. How dearly we had to pay for that gesture, you comrades know very well. Who benefited by this affected gesture? The imperialists, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, all those who tried to smother the Soviet government, which at the time had not yet become strong enough. And now a similar policy of affected gestures is being offered us with regard to the Anglo-Russian Committee. There is the demand for a demonstrative, a showy break. But who will benefit by such a showy gesture? Churchill and Chamberlain, Zassenbach and Oudegest. They want it. They are waiting for it. They, the Zassenbachs and the Oudegests, would like us to break demonstratively with the English workers' movement and thus lighten the task of Amsterdam. They, the Churchills and the Chamberlains, want a break in order to facilitate their intervention, to obtain a moral argument in favor of the interventionists. So these are the people to whose mills our oppositionists are adding grist.

No, comrades, we cannot follow this adventurist road. But such is the fate of the "ultra-left" phrasemonger. Their phrases are leftist in nature, but in reality they aid the enemies of the working class. They start out to the left and arrive at the right. No, comrades, we shall not follow this policy of gestures for effect, we shall not accept it today much as we did not accept it during the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. We shall not follow it because we do not wish our party to become a toy in the hands of our enemies.

II. ON THE ANGLO RUSSIAN COMMITTEE SPEECH AT PRESIDUM, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, C. I., AUGUST 7, 1926

Comrades, prior to Murphy's speech, the CC of the CPSU (B) received a letter from the CC of the CP of Great Britain which protested against the well-known statement of the AUCCTU (All Union Central Committee of Trade Union).¹⁰ It seems to me that Murphy is repeating here the arguments of that letter.

Murphy expresses mainly formal considerations against the appeal, among them the argument that controversial questions were not subjected to prior agreement with the British CP. I admit that this last consideration of Murphy's has its merits. The Communist International has at times had to adopt decisions without prior agreement with the CC of the British CP. But this was to be explained by force of circumstances: the urgency of certain problems, the impossibility of quickly contacting the CC of the British CP, etc.

As far as Murphy's considerations and arguments regarding the AUCCTU and its declaration, we must say that they are completely wrong. It is wrong to state that the AUCCTU committed a formal error in issuing its appeal because

¹⁰ The statement of the AUCCTU was an appeal to the working class of all countries concerning the betrayal of the general strike of the British workers by the reformist leaders of the Labor Party and of the General Council of British Trade Unions. This appeal was adopted by the IV Plenum of the AUCCTU, June 7, 1925, and published in "Pravda" N-130, June 8, 1926.

by so doing it has presumably taken upon itself the functions of the Profintern or the Comintern. The AUCCTU, has of course, the right to issue an appeal, just as much as any trade-union or other organization. How can anyone deny this elementary right to the AUCCTU?

Even more erroneous is the argument that the AUCCTU, by issuing this appeal has usurped the rights of the Profintern or of the Comintern, that the Profintern and the Comintern are the ones which have been harmed. I must say that the appeal of the AUCCTU was issued with the knowledge and approval of the Profintern and Comintern. This, explains the fact that neither the Profintern nor the Comintern have thought of accusing the AUCCTU of violating rights belonging to them. In speaking in this case against the AUCCTU, Murphy as a matter of fact speaks against the ECCI and the Profintern.

Finally, we must consider entirely impermissible Murphy's statement that the criticism of the general council by the AUCCTU and in fact the very issuance of its appeal constitutes "meddling" in internal affairs of the British CP, that the AUCCTU, as a "national organization" must not allow such "meddling."

It is extremely bad that Murphy repeats here the argument made by Pugh and Purcell at the Paris meeting of the Anglo-Russian committee. Such "arguments" were put forward a few days ago by Pugh and Purcell and Citrine against the delegation of the AUCCTU. This fact alone shows that Murphy is wrong.

One must not, because of formal reasons, overlook the substance of things, the real essence of the matter. A Communist cannot act in this way. The cause of the British miners would today be in far better shape, and the incorrect actions of the general council would stand exposed if along with the AUCCTU, criticism of the general council had been made by the national associations of trade-unions of other countries, France, Germany, etc. The issuance of the appeal by the AUCCTU containing the criticism of the general council was therefore not an error but a real service to the British workers.

This is all I wanted to say on the formal aspect of Murphy's speech.

I could limit myself to these remarks. However, Murphy does not limit himself only to the formal aspects. In fact, Murphy makes the formal side serve him for the purpose of attaining certain important objects which are not at all formal. His tactics here consist of attaining definite decisions on the substance of the matter while hiding behind formalities, using certain formal discrepancies in the tactics of the ECCI toward that end. Therefore it will be necessary to say a few words on the substance of Murphy's arguments.

What is Murphy really after? Roughly speaking, he is trying to get the AUCCTU to stop its open criticism of the general council, to force the AUCCTU to shut up and "Stop meddling in the affairs of the general council."

Can this be accepted by the AUCCTU, or by our party, or by the CI?

No, it cannot. Because, what does it mean to compel the AUCCTU to keep quiet? How will this silence of the AUCCTU be understood at the moment when the general council is organizing the isolation of the striking British miners and is preparing their defeat? To keep silent in these circumstances would mean to hush up the sins of the general council, to hush up its betrayal. To hush up the betrayal by the general council under conditions where the general council and the AUCCTU are in alliance in the form of the Anglo-Russian Committee would mean to give silent approval of this betrayal. Hence it would mean sharing with the general council the responsibility, before the workers movement of the entire world, for the betrayal of the general council.

Is it still necessary to prove that the AUCCTU would be committing political and moral suicide if it were to take this road, if it were to give up even for one moment the open criticism of the betrayal by the general council?

Judge for yourselves. In May the general council called off the general strike, thus betraying the English working class in general and the British miners in particular. In June and July, the general council didn't move a finger toward helping the striking miners. Furthermore, the general council was doing everything within its power to prepare the defeat of the miners and punish the "disobedient" Federation of British Coal Miners. In August at the Paris meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the leaders of the general council refused to discuss the proposal made by the representations of the AUCCTU about helping the British miners, in spite of the fact that the agenda of this meeting submitted by the AUCCTU was not objected to by the general council. We have, therefore, a whole line of betrayal by the general council which has become entangled in rotten diplomacy, and yet Murphy demands that the AUCCTU should shut its eyes to all these infamies and seal its lips.

No, comrades, the AUCCTU cannot take this road because it does not want to commit suicide.

Murphy thinks it would have been wiser had the appeal against the general council been issued by the Profintern, as an international organization, while the AUCCTU, as a "national" organization might have issued a short resolution endorsing the appeal of the Profintern. From a strictly formal point of view Murphy's plan represents a certain departmental, architectural orderliness. From this angle, the suggested procedure of Murphy is understandable. But from a political point of view Murphy's procedure will not stand criticism. His plan of procedure would not have given even one-hundredth part of the political effect of exposing the general council, and politically educating the British working masses, which was, no doubt achieved by the appeal of the AUCCTU. The point is that the Profintern is less known in the ranks of the British working class than the AUCCTU, the former is less popular than the latter, hence the right of the former is incomparably smaller than the weight of the latter. But from this it follows that it was precisely the AUCCTU, as the more authoritative organ in the eyes of the British working class, that had to come forward with the criticism of the general council. It was impossible to act in any other way, if one aimed at hitting the bull's eye in exposing the betrayal by the general council. Judging by the howls which arose among the reformist leaders of the British labor movement in connection with the appeal of the AUCCTU, it may be stated with certainty that the bull's eye was hit, by the AUCCTU.

Murphy thinks that open criticism of the general council on the part of the AUCCTU may lead to the break-up of the bloc with the general council, to the collapse of the Anglo-Russian Committee. I think that Murphy is wrong. The collapse of the Anglo-Russian Committee in view of the very active aid given to the coal miners by the AUCCTU, just must be considered as ruled out, or almost ruled out. It is precisely this circumstance which explains the fact that no one fears the collapse of the Anglo-Russian Committee as much as the representative of the majority of the general council. Purcell and Hicks of course, are going to use the danger of a collapse. But one must be able to tell the difference between blackmail and the actual danger of a collapse.

It must be remembered that the Anglo-Russian Committee is for us not just an aim in itself. We have entered and shall remain in the Anglo-Russian Committee not unconditionally, but under certain conditions, one of which is the right of free criticism of the general council by the AUCCTU, as well as the right of free criticism of the AUCCTU by the general council. We cannot renounce the freedom of criticism for the sake of respectability and for the sake of maintaining the bloc at all costs.

What is the purpose of the bloc? It is to organize joint action by the members of the bloc against capital in the interest of the working class, joint actions of the members of the bloc against imperialist war, for peace among nations. Well, then, how shall we act if one of the members of the bloc or certain leaders of one of the parties in this alliance violate the interests of the working class, betray them, and thereby make it impossible to carry out joint action? Should we, indeed, praise them for such errors?

Consequently, there must be criticism, the liquidation of errors by means of criticism, so as to restore the possibility of joint actions in the interests of the working class. Hence the Anglo-Russian Committee makes sense only if there is a guaranty of freedom of criticism. It is said that criticism may lead to the discrediting of some reactionary trade-union leaders. What of it? I don't see anything bad in this. The working class will only gain thereby if the old leaders who betrayed its interests were discredited and replaced by new leaders devoted to the well-being of the working class. And the sooner the removal of such reactionary and untrustworthy leaders and their replacement by new and better leaders, free of the reactionary ways of the old leaders, the better. However, this does not mean that it is possible with one blow to break the power of the reactionary leaders and in a short while to isolate them, replace them with new, revolutionary leaders. Certain neo-Marxists think that it is sufficient to make a single "revolutionary" gesture, one noisy prank, to break the power of reactionary leaders. Real Marxists cannot and do not have anything in common with such people.

Others think that it is sufficient for the Communists to advance a correct line to have the wide masses of workers turn away instantly from the reactionary reformists, and at once unite around the Communist Party. This is entirely

wrong. This way of thinking is the way of neo-Marxists only. In reality there is a great interval of time between the elaboration of a correct party line and the situation in which the masses adopt this line, and accept it as the correct one. In order that a party lead the many-millioned masses, it is not enough just to have a correct line; what is needed in addition is that the masses become convinced by their own experiences of the correctness of the line, that the masses should adopt the policy of the party and its slogans as its own policy and its own slogans and begin putting them into life. Only under this condition can a party which has a correct policy become the real leading force of the class.

Was the policy of the British CP correct during the general strike in England? Yes, it was. Why then didn't it succeed at once in getting the millions of striking workers to follow it? Because these masses have not yet become convinced of the correctness of the policy of the CP. And in a short period of time it is not possible to convince the masses of the correctness of the party policy. This is all the more impossible of achievement by means of "revolutionary" gestures. For this, time is needed, and untiring energetic work exposing the reactionary leaders, and politically educating the backward masses of the working class, to promote new people of the working class to leading positions.

It is not difficult to gather from this why it is impossible to destroy at one stroke the power of the reactionary leaders of the working class, why time is needed for this, and tireless work along the line of educating the millions of the working class. But even less does it follow that it is necessary to stretch out the matter of exposing the reactionary leaders for decades, not to think that this exposure will come of itself, spontaneously and without offending reactionary leaders and without any breach of the "sacred rules" of respectability. No, comrades, nothing ever comes by "itself." The exposure of the reactionary leaders and the political enlightenment of the masses must be performed by you, yourselves, by you Communists and other left political workers, leaders, by means of untiring work among the masses for their political enlightenment. Only in this way will it be possible to accelerate work of revolutionizing the broad masses of the workers.

Finally, one more remark concerning Murphy's speech. Murphy persistently stressed the specific peculiarities of the labor movement in England, the role and significance of traditions in England, and, as it seemed to me, hinted that the usual Marxist methods of leadership may be found unsuitable in England because of these specific peculiarities. It seems to me that Murphy is setting out here on a slippery road. Of course, there exist specific peculiarities of the British labor movement and they must certainly be taken into consideration. But to elevate these peculiarities to the status of principles and make them the basis of activity would mean to adopt the viewpoint of people who consider Marxism inapplicable to British conditions. I do not think Murphy has anything in common with such people. But I want to say that he is close to the border line beyond which begins the elevating of English peculiarities into principles.

A few words about Humboldt's speech. In his rejoinder, Humboldt said that criticism should not be abstract. But how does this apply to the AUCCTU and the ECCI whose criticism is very concrete. Was the criticism of the heroes of "Black Friday" "abstract"? Of course not, because this criticism is now being repeated by anyone who is not lazy, long after "Black Friday"¹¹ has passed into history. Why then must the criticism of the betrayal by leaders of the General Council during the general strike and later, after the continuing miners' strike, be called bare? Where is the logic here? Is betrayal during a general strike less disastrous than during the period of "Black Friday"?

I am against Humboldt's proposed method of individual criticism, if this method is being proposed as a basic approach. I think that our criticism of the reactionary leaders must be a criticism from the point of view of the general line of leadership and not from the point of view of the individual traits of these leaders. I am not against using individual criticism as an accessory, auxiliary means. But I am for using principled basis for our criticism. Otherwise instead of a principled criticism there may arise brawls and personal squabbles which cannot fail to lower the level of our criticism to the detriment of the interests of the matter.

(Printed for the first time.)

¹¹ The heroes of "Black Friday"—the reactionary leaders of the British trade-unions: railway (Thomas), miners (Hodges), and transport (Williams), who called off the solidarity strike of the RR and transport workers, which was called for April 15, 1921, for the purpose of supporting the striking coal miners. The day of the calling off of the strike—Friday, April 15, 1921—has been named "Black Friday" by the British workers.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you a document entitled "Plan of Work of National Committee, C. P. U. S. A." for the period July 15 to Labor Day, 1950, and ask you if this is also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes; it is.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing, and that the document be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 98."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 98" is as follows:)

PLAN OF WORK OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.,
JULY 15 TO LABOR DAY, 1950

The military intervention of Wall Street imperialism and its bipartisan combination in Washington against the people of Korea confirms the correctness of our party's analysis made during the entire past period and emphasized at our last national committee meeting. Our party showed that the Wall Street monopolists, growing ever more desperate in the face of the rising strength of the world peace camp and the expanding resistance of the American people, are feverishly preparing for war to enslave the whole world. The aggressive armed attack against the people of Korea, and United States imperialist intervention in the whole of Asia, clearly shows that American imperialism has now entered the open military phase of its preparations to unleash World War III, threatening to embroil the whole world in a new world holocaust.

The war in Korea provoked by United States imperialism has aroused the anger and strengthened the vigilance of the world forces for peace, championed by the camp of democracy and socialism, including millions of people in our own country. All those who strive for peace recognize that at this moment the struggle for peace can and must be advanced by a twofold fight. (1) By a resolute fight to demand the withdrawal of imperialism forces from Korea in order to enable the people there to achieve national unification and liberation without outside interference; and (2) simultaneously extending the movement to prevent world war III by fighting for United States-Soviet agreement, for the necessity and possibility of peaceful coexistence and competition on a world scale of the two social systems, and extending the demand for the seating of the representatives of New China in the UN in order that the UN can once again function in accord with the UN Charter.

The basic campaign for peace outlined by our party in the national committee peace plan remains the central task today; the campaign to help secure 5,000,000 signatures to the world peace appeal initiated by the peace forces in our country; the building of the labor conference for peace and other broad people's movements for peace; the fight to defend civil liberties, for the release of our general secretary, Eugene Dennis, and the freedom of the 11; the defense of the economic conditions of the workers and their trade-unions, and the building of our party and the working-class press.

The membership of our party, and the millions of workers and Negro masses, must be imbued with confidence that it is possible to stop the Wall Street aggression in Korea and save world peace. To help heighten the quality of our entire work to realize the perspectives set by our national committee, the following national plan has been adopted for the period from July 15 to Labor Day, which should be the basis of concrete and practical plans to be formulated by all State committees. The fulfillment of these plans must be firmly checked in the course of our day-to-day activity.

I. IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

Every single member of our party must be equipped politically with the necessary arguments to combat the intensified barrage of Wall Street propaganda aimed to confuse and divide the ranks of the American working class. Every Communist must be in a position to clarify and answer all questions raised by the workers in the shops and communities, to show how the true interests of

the American working class and people, the true interests of our nation, are protected, only in the struggle against Wall Street imperialism. From this standpoint we propose the carrying through of the following tasks:

1. The immediate holding discussions in all clubs on the imperialist character of the attack on Korea, to be based on Comrade Gus Hall's pamphlet (for which the educational department shall prepare a brief outline). To supply added information, the educational department will prepare each week supplementary material for the use of the clubs, speakers, and functionaries. Fullest use must be made of the material in the Daily Worker and the Worker.

2. By August 1, a program of ideological discussions must be carried through with all national leaders of trade-unions and other mass organizations (political, civil rights, Negro fraternal, women, youth, cultural, etc.) with the aim of bringing these discussions to their own memberships. These discussions must help to show them that by speaking out against the war in Korea, a war contrary to the interests of the people in the United States, they defend the interests of their own membership.

II. AGITATIONAL PROPAGANDA TASKS

1. That we issue and help circulate the following pieces of literature in mass quantities: Complete by August 1 the sale and distribution of the 465,000 copies of Gus Hall's pamphlet Hands Off Korea and Formosa; to issue and sell 200,000 copies of the pamphlet under preparation explaining the meaning of the world peace appeal to outlaw atomic weapons; to help distribute the speech of Paul Robeson to the National Negro Labor Conference in 200,000 copies; to prepare a new pamphlet dealing with current questions and answers on Korea to be distributed in 400,000 copies.

2. That we issue and circulate in smaller quantities the following pamphlets: A pamphlet containing Kim Ir Sung's article on conditions in Korea, the statement by Andrei Gromyko, etc.; Eugene Dennis' 21 questions and answers on the fight for peace; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's pamphlet on Eugene Dennis and Eugene Debs—war prisoners; and the pictorial pamphlet on the Foley Square trial.

3. During this period, the utmost attention shall be paid to the building of the circulation of the press and the issuance of mass agitational material. To accomplish this, we decide to:

(a) Issue two 4-page folders (this may be issued as Daily Worker supplements) for national distribution in large quantities on Why Wall Street Is Attacking the Colored Peoples of Asia and on Unmasking the Wall Street Claim That It Is Acting on Behalf of the UN.

(b) That all districts shall immediately undertake to bring about an increase in the Daily Worker circulation by working out specific tasks to be undertaken and accomplished during this period.

III. REACHING AND ACTIVIZING THE MILLIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

1. To encourage the participation of Communists and non-Communists in the writing of letters to the editors of the commercial press, to take issue with their editorials, articles, etc. Maximum efforts shall be made to secure participation in forums, debates, radio symposiums on all questions pertaining to the fight to save world peace.

2. To encourage all forces to speak out in every possible way against United States imperialist intervention in Korea and for world peace.

(a) Individual leaders of trade-unions, Negro people's organizations, religious groups, women, youth, professional and cultural groups, must be urged to speak out on all levels. These leaders, both as individuals and in the name of their organizations, shall be urged to express themselves in whatever way they choose for an end to the aggression in Korea, for restoring the UN to its original purpose by seating People's China, etc. Messages containing such statements to local Congressmen, and especially to the President of the United States, are especially important.

(b) Full support shall be given to the efforts of the Labor Conference for Peace to secure 1,000 trade-union leaders by August 1 from the shop-steward level on up, to cosign its statement on Korea.

(c) Full support shall be given to the efforts of World War II veterans from the Pacific theater to voice their protest against American intervention in Korea and Asia.

(d) Full support shall be given to carry through the community and church activities—especially local and state-wide conferences—projected at the Mid-Century Conference of Peaceful Alternatives at its sessions in Chicago.

3. The following mass activities require maximum support and encouragement:

(a) Support the efforts of the Labor Conference for Peace to organize mass protest demonstrations in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Seattle during the week of August 1-7 (the anniversary of Hiroshima).

(b) Support the efforts to organize a mothers delegation to Washington.

(c) Support the efforts to organize a mass delegation of Negro people's leaders to Washington to demand the stopping of the imperialist attacks on the colored peoples of the world to keep America at peace; for the immediate passage of FEPC and the defeat of the Mundt bill.

(d) Support the sending of representative delegations to the United Nations demanding that it return to its original purpose outlined in the UN Charter.

(e) Join with all forces desirous of organizing a Congress for the repeal of the draft.

(g) Extend and support all movements for Presidential amnesty for Eugene Dennis and all other political prisoners, as well as for the reversal of the Foley Square decision.

IV. INTENSIFY DRIVE FOR 5,000,000 SIGNATURES TO THE WORLD PEACE APPEAL

1. In the center of all activities for peace is the task to help secure the 5,000,000 signatures for the world peace appeal. The national committee peace plan outlined the major stages in this connection. Within the framework of that plan August 6 should be the next stage for:

(a) Completing the second million signatures—with particular emphasis on concentrating to secure these signatures in the shops, in the local unions, through canvassing each apartment house and block, through securing signatures at churches and other mass organizations.

(b) To organize nationally—on the week end of August 5-6 1,000 open-air rallies and shop-gate meetings—with booths and tables for streetcorner collection of signatures.

September 4 (Labor Day) is the next milestone to secure the third million signatures.

2. As part of the campaign to secure 5,000,000 signatures, every effort shall be exerted to build up peace committees in the shops, unions, communities, organizations, etc.—thus to organize the powerful sentiment for peace into movements to wage the struggle on a day-to-day basis.

In this connection full support shall be given to the establishment of a well-functioning Labor Conference for Peace in at least 30 cities throughout the country. In these cities, to help organize a minimum of 500 peace committees in shops and local unions, drawing into the activity of these peace committees large numbers of nonparty trade-unionists around the collection of signatures and the other activities outlined by the Labor Conference for Peace.

3. Full support shall also be given to the PIC and the Labor Conference for Peace in their efforts to send delegates to the World Peace Conference in October, including 100 trade-union delegates.

4. Wherever conditions permit, efforts shall be directed to unite all organizations—churches, youth, trade-unions, Negro people's organizations, women's organizations, pacifist groups, etc.—into local councils for peace.

We urge that the above decision be immediately discussed and that the State plans and control tasks for the next 6 weeks be forwarded to the national committee.

Comradely yours,

NATIONAL ORGANIZING DEPARTMENT.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you a document entitled, "A Guide to the Club—Its Role in Building the United Front in 1950—A Handbook for Community Club Officers," prepared by Carl Dorfman, and issued by the national organization department of the Communist Party, and I ask you if this is also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes; this is one of the documents I subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this document be introduced as Cvetic exhibit No. 99, however, it is requested that the contents of the document not be copied into the record for the present. This, with your permission, will be done at a later date.

Mr. HARRISON. It is so ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 99," is filed herewith.)¹

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you copies of letters dated June 7, July 6, July 7, and July 28, 1950, all written on the letterhead of the National Office of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and ask you if these four letters are also documents which you secured from Matthew Cvetic on October 6, 1950, through the service of a subpoena?

Mr. JONES. Yes; these documents were secured by subpoena on October 6, 1950, from Matthew Cvetic.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of these letters be copied into the transcript of this hearing, and that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibits 100, 101, 102, and 103," in chronological order.

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, it should be noted that three of these documents, that is, Cvetic exhibits 100, 102, and 103 all pertain to the peace petition drive presently being conducted by the Communist Party. Cvetic exhibit 102 is signed by Carl Reinstein, treasurer of the Communist Party, and in the first paragraph charges the United States with having committed an act of imperialism in Korea.

(The documents above referred to, marked, respectively, "Cvetic Exhibit 100," "Cvetic Exhibit 101," "Cvetic Exhibit 102," and "Cvetic Exhibit 103," are as follows:)

CVETIC EXHIBIT No. 100

(Letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., national office, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.)

JUNE 7, 1950.

STEVE NELSON,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEAR STEVE: I should like to raise with you one important question—and that is finances. You have been responding quite well to all of the appeals that we have made on funds and I am sure that if you have not sent more in, it is due to difficulties regarding finances that not much more than this has been raised.

However, let me impress you with a fact that I am sure you will understand. In stating it, I am not exaggerating this question at all. We are in a crisis. This applies to all three phases of the appeal that we have issued. The Daily Worker and the Worker in the first place, who are now operating on a week-to-week basis; the whole question of the party defense, the appeal coming up June 21 and loans that have so far been entailed as a result of the lag in the fund campaign, as well as operating needs.

I should like to urge your consideration of the emergency that we now face. In recognition of your problem within the district, I should like to have you understand that the problem I am posing now in truth transcends district needs. Therefore, the remaining \$2,371 owed in the fund drive by the western Pennsylvania district to the center should be regarded as a special undertaking to help meet this crisis.

¹ See p. 3155.

I know that merely to state the problem is to get your immediate cooperation and would like very much to get from you a favorable reply in the form of funds at the beginning of next week when we will be really in an emergency.

Comradely yours,

HENRY WINSTON.

P. S.—We are awaiting a report on peace activities.

CVETIC EXHIBIT No. 101

(Letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., national office, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.)

JULY 6, 1950.

DEAR COMRADE STEVE: Have just finished a discussion with comrade Winston, in which we reviewed the critical status of finances here in the center. Without going into details, it was felt that the comrades should be aware that the fund for defense and the Daily Worker are extremely low, in fact dangerously low.

It is with the above in mind, that contact is being made with those districts that have not fulfilled their quota in the fund drive, to do so *immediately*.

For your district it means the sum of \$2,000.

Please reply immediately.

Comradely,

CARL REINSTEIN.

CVETIC EXHIBIT No. 102

(Letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., national office, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.)

JULY 7, 1950.

STEVE NELSON,

District No. 5, Western Pennsylvania.

DEAR COMRADE: In a memorandum sent out by Comrade Mike Russo dated May 6, dealing with our dues control for the first 6 months of 1950, it was pointed out how important it was to achieve the fullest mobilization of our membership in the crusade for peace. Events and experience have shown thus far how long overdue this campaign was. Now with the open intervention of American imperialism in Korea, it becomes necessary to step up the fight for peace a hundred-fold.

This *requires* the fullest mobilization of our members. It is in this context that we view the dues control in your district with anxiety. What causes this concern is the status of dues collections in your district, as we approach the half-way mark in the control period. To be specific and up to date, we have received from your district in the month of June a number of dues payments that when analyzed, represent average dues payment of some 61 percent. This, added to the 20 percent average for the first 5 months of the year does not reflect the proper utilization of the proposals set forth in the memorandum.

We desire therefore to establish the status of the control in your district at this time. Also to hear from you on the plans to get 100-percent control.

Also how about some news on the peace campaign?

Comradely,

CARL REINSTEIN, *Treasurer.*

CVETIC EXHIBIT No. 103

(Letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., national office, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.)

JULY 28, 1950.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

DEAR COMRADE: According to our records, you owe us \$50 for peace petitions. We would like to restate that in order to assure prompt delivery of same, we paid for them in advance.

It becomes difficult, therefore, to purchase additional material when districts such as yours do not meet these commitments.

It is urgent that you forward the above sum at once.

Comradely yours,

CARL REINSTEIN.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you another document, which does not have a title but which consists of three and a quarter pages and pertains to the Stockholm peace pledge and the efforts made by the Communist Daily Worker to gain support for the so-called peace campaign. Is this also one of the documents which you subpoenaed from Mr. Cvetic on October 6, 1950?

Mr. JONES. Yes; it is.

Mr. RUSSELL. It should be noted that the first paragraph of this document makes a point of certain Daily Worker headlines having been copied from that paper and inserted on the front page of a recent issue of the CIO News. This document expresses the hope that through the use of the Daily Worker headlines in the CIO News, workers who look at the headlines will draw a different conclusion from that intended by the CIO News.

The first paragraph of this document also refers to the "enemy" without exactly describing the nature of the enemy, or who or what it is.

The fourth paragraph on page 3 of this document expresses the opinion that if the Daily Worker were read by 100 percent of the membership of the Communist Party, the effectiveness of the Communist Party in the United States would be tripled.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that we have recently been refused access to the mailing list of the Daily Worker by the Post Office Department.

I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing and that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 104."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 104," is as follows:)

CVETIC EXHIBIT No. 104

Now on the Daily Worker. I think all of us will agree that never in the history of the Daily Worker has it risen to the heights that it has in the recent period. We know from letters we have received from our readers, from the comments of party leaders and organizations, that the way that the Daily Worker has led the campaign for peace, on the Stockholm peace pledge, and the way it has reacted to the Korean events, has been welcomed in our party like never before. The Daily Worker is really doing a splendid job in fighting for the building of a broad peace front of the American people. The enemy appreciates this also. And never has there been in this country such attention paid to the Daily Worker, never has there been so much republished in all newspapers from the Daily Worker; newspaper after newspaper with editorials on the Daily Worker; photostats of headlines from the Daily Worker, etc. The recent issue of the CIO News had the entire front page given over to photostats of headlines from the Daily Worker since the outbreak of the Korean events and in the middle resolution of the so-called International Confederation of Labor. They thought that is enough—that all they have to do is look at it and the workers will draw their own conclusions. But I think that many workers will draw different conclusions from what they want them to.

Then we have a most serious effort on the part of American imperialism—and we should not underestimate this danger—an effort to suppress the Daily Worker all over the country.

One might ask, Why is the enemy so concerned about our paper? Here is a paper which has a weekly circulation of only about 75,000; here is a paper which, I am ashamed to say, has a daily circulation at this moment only of

about 17,000 or 18,000. This is a little newspaper in this tremendous ocean of thousands of daily newspapers who day in and day out spread their lies, in this ocean of radio broadcasts every minute of the day, in the movies, television, etc.—and yet they have to try to suppress this little voice. Why? The reason is obvious, and that is, that they appreciate, and I think they appreciate even more than many of us do, the power of the Daily Worker and the worker.

We are very proud of the fact that 1,250,000 signatures for the Stockholm peace appeal have been collected in this country. How were they collected? If it were not for the leadership of our party, the activity of our party, and the sparking of this campaign by the Daily Worker; if it had not been for the day-in-and-day-out campaign of the Daily Worker on this peace appeal, it would not have been possible to collect these signatures. Certainly it would not have been possible if the Compass had been the organ of the peace movement in this country, because, what has the Compass ever had to say about the Stockholm peace appeal? They have never endorsed the Stockholm peace appeal; they have never given publicity to the campaign, and, if anything, the kind of policy they have been pursuing would have reacted against the Stockholm peace campaign.

And so, the enemy appreciates this; they understand that if they can still the voice of this paper, if they can suppress it, then they think they will be able to crush the further unfoldment of the Stockholm peace campaign and all the other issues the progressive forces are fighting on in this country.

I think we must understand that as we develop our method of the united front in the fight for peace, the Daily Worker and our party are an essential part of that united front. It is our party and the Daily Worker which give leadership to the progressive forces in that united front. It is that line and policy which enable us to build that united front and to move from higher to higher levels, and to the extent that the role of the Daily Worker is weakened in this fight, to the extent the role of our party is weakened in this united front, to that extent the united front will be weakened and we will fail in our objectives.

Any policy which is put forward in any circles of our party of the kind that, well, we have got to put over this Stockholm peace pledge and everything else has to be sacrificed—that is a wrong policy, that is the crassest kind of right opportunism on the part of any Communist who will put forward that policy, because it is obvious to anyone who participates in this fight for peace that unless you are equipped to give the answer and convince and argue with workers, unless you are equipped with Marxism-Leninism and its application to everything as it happens every day, you are not going to be able to give leadership to the peace fight.

In this respect, the national committee has just made what I consider to be a historic decision, in order to solve the problem of the circulation of our paper, because the fact is that in this recent period, precisely when our paper has reached new heights, precisely when the enthusiasm for the paper has increased, the circulation of our paper continues to decline, and it is the opinion of the national committee that there is only one reason for this, and that reason is that the leadership of our party and the membership of our party does not understand the role of the party in the fight for peace and the role of the paper in the fight for peace, does not understand it in practice; and that is why the party from top to bottom does not give leadership to the problem of increasing the circulation of our paper, daily and weekly.

We think that so long as we continue just to talk about it, so long as we continue to raise it, so to speak ideologically, so long as we only confine ourselves to such measures, we will never succeed in changing the situation with respect to circulation.

And so we have passed the following decision for immediate execution by all organs of the party: Every single party club in our party must immediately undertake to take a bundle of from two to five Daily Workers, minimum, on a daily basis; and secondly, that every party club must undertake to take a weekly bundle of the Sunday Worker; and here we do not set any minimum figure.

Why is this important? I think we should understand that the time has come when we must shift the basis for the distribution of our paper. In the past decade the basis of distribution of our paper has become twofold: (1) Subscriptions, and (2) newstands. The basis of distribution by party organizations taking bundles has more and more declined and today is a minor method of distribution on the part of the party. This is a most dangerous method of distribution, especially in the present period. I think I do not have to give you a blueprint to convince you that it is going to be increasingly difficult to get subscriptions for our paper. The fact is that we are getting increasing numbers of cancellations

of the paper of those who are now subscribers, you should see some of the letters saying, we agree with your paper 100 percent, but we cannot afford to take your paper through the mails any more because we are afraid we will lose our jobs. And while the Daily Worker is going to fight for every inch of legality and the right to have subscriptions and get the paper just as long as this is possible, at the same time we must understand that we are building the basis of our paper's distribution on sand if we rely mainly on this method of distribution.

I would also like to state that this method of distribution grew up during the Browder period—this tendency to rely upon newstand distribution and United States mails, rather than upon the party membership. It was a revisionist concept, running away from party responsibility and the independent role of the party and of each party member and organization.

We have got to change it drastically. We have got to change it now.

There will be some who will say that we are making a very mechanical decision, and they will say that by making this kind of decision what will happen is that the papers are going to pile up in the party clubs, they will not be distributed, debts will pile up, and we will have a big difficulty on our hands. I say that is just defeatism. That is just pessimism. That is not a Communist approach to this problem. When someone says that he is merely saying he is not going to give leadership to this question. He is not going to organize it. Because no one can tell me a club executive or section committee or county committee or district committee cannot solve a problem of a party club taking from two to five Daily Workers every day and distributing them. If we cannot solve that problem, how are we ever going to solve the big problems we have to solve, to say nothing of the fact that we want to establish socialism here in the biggest imperialist country on earth.

I say it is possible to solve it. It was solved in the past. When I joined the party in the early 1930's this was the practice. Every club took a bundle. It was normal procedure. Nobody would conceive of anything otherwise. Every party club had a bundle of Daily Workers, it was on every agenda, and there was an apparatus for distribution. Section and district committees gave regular check-up on this problem.

This kind of approach we have got to have in the party and our national committee is going to judge the work of our districts in this respect, the work of our counties and sections and clubs, to the extent that this decision is carried out. We are going to check up on it and demand from week to week how many clubs are taking bundles, how are they circulating it, what experiences are they having, and demand regular payments and not allow a piling up of debts.

I think all of us as Communist leaders are very much concerned with a key organizational problem that is in the first place also a political problem, and that is: How can we involve the maximum number of party members in the work of our party? This is our great bottleneck in our work, that we only involve a relatively small percentage of party members and all of us are always trying to solve this problem. If we solve this problem, we would be solving every other party question. I think that if we understand the relationship of the circulation of our Daily and Sunday Worker to this key political and organizational problem, we will find one of the main solutions to it. And that is that if we had a situation where every party member read the Daily Worker every day. I say that would do more than anything else we can do to involve every party member in party activity. Who are the party members today involved in party activity? Who are the actives? They are the people who read the Daily Worker. That's who they are. And the so-called inactive members usually at most are the people who get the Sunday Worker and do not read the Daily Worker everyday. If we want to solve our problem in a drastic way of raising the ideological level of our membership and give daily leadership to our membership, and involve them in activity, we have got to guarantee that every party member at least, to say nothing of nonparty people we want to win, becomes a regular reader of the Daily Worker. I say without fear of contradiction that as we approach this goal of 100 percent readership of the Daily Worker by our membership, we would be tripling the effectiveness of the Communist Party in the United States.

I think that is the kind of approach and understanding we must have, and I think we have to have the idea that a Communist leader who does not give leadership on this question is not a real Communist leader but is only half a Communist leader. A party club that does not fulfill its task on this question is not a true club, but only half a Communist club.

We have a situation in our party where unlike the bourgeoisie, we enforce our constitution. We fight to enforce it. It is a living document, a fighting document. How many of us will remember that we have a clause in that constitution that

says, "Every party member shall be a reader and circulator of the Communist press?" That is in our constitution even though many of you may not know it or may have forgotten it. Are we enforcing it? It is clear we are not. That part of our constitution is almost a dead letter and I think we have got to fight to enforce the party line, our party's policy, and that means a basic fundamental change in the activity of our party and approach of our party with respect to the circulation of the Daily and Sunday Worker.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Jones, I show you another document, entitled "The World Speaks Out for Peace," with a subheading, "A manifesto of French Protestants," and ask you if that is one of the documents secured under subpoena from Mr. Cvetic, and which document was one of those secured from the Communist Party headquarters in Pittsburgh by Mr. Cvetic?

Mr. JONES. Yes; it is.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the contents of this document be copied into the transcript of this hearing, and that the document be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 105."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 105," is as follows:)

[Peace Information Center, 222 West Twenty-third Street, Hotel Chelsea, New York City 11]

THE WORLD SPEAKS OUT FOR PEACE

AS CHRISTIANS WE SIGN THE WORLD PEACE APPEAL—A MANIFESTO OF FRENCH PROTESTANTS

Amidst terrifying threats of a new war, the Stockholm appeal has been issued. The appeal coincides with the American Mid-Century Conference for Peace; the condemnation of the atom bomb by the Council of English Protestant Churches, the call of the Federal Council of Churches of the United States for "a gigantic effort for peace"; the appeal of the Oecumenical Council of Churches to the governments for an agreement on disarmament; the appeal of the International Red Cross for the outlawing of the atom bomb; the trip of Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, to attempt a renewal of relations between east and west.

If we wish to be faithful to Christ, we cannot remain indifferent in this torment. We can only approve today without reservation all efforts in favor of peace which from now on can have a salutary effect.

We think that the Stockholm appeal constitutes an extremely important effort toward the maintenance of peace as a result of the breadth of its distribution and the diversity of its endorsement. It can make a step toward the reopening of negotiations and can foster international agreement.

Men in solidarity with other men in anguish and in hope, we discuss all together to seek an issue favorable to peace, and we are resolved to combat the fears and hates aroused by the threat of atomic war.

We are convinced that faithfulness to Christ's gospel will pose new demands for us tomorrow. In reply today, to this appeal, because we are Christians, we know ourselves dedicated to pursue everyday all efforts to find again everything that will contribute to the peace of the world and to reconciliation among men.

THAT IS WHY, AS CHRISTIANS, WE SIGN THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL

Signed: Pastor Andre Aeschmann (Paris); Pastor Francis Bosc (Paris); Pastor Robert Cheradame (Saint-Quentin); Pastor I. Exbrayat (Rodez-Nimes); Pastor Jean-Daniel Fischer (Mulhouse); Prof. Pierre Gardere (Rodez); Suzanne Grumbach (Paris); Pastor Henri Hatzfeld (Strasbourg); Pastor Marc Herubel (Rouen); Pastor Jacques Lochard (Montbéliard); Pastor Etienne Mathiot (Belfort); Roger Miquet, instituteur Lille; Maurice de Montmollin (Paris); Pastor Henri Ochsenbeim (Strasbourg); Claire Jullien (Paris); Pastor Jean Jouselin (Paris); Pastor Pongy (Nimes); Pastor Roland de Pury Lyon; Jean-Jacques Kirkyacharian (Paris); Eugene Query (Paris); Pastor Alfred Richard-Molard (Saint Germain).

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, there is a great deal of valuable information contained in the documents which have been introduced this morning, particularly as it pertains to the aims and purposes of the Communist Party at the present time. I think that in view of the present misnamed "Peace petition campaign" being conducted by the Communist Party, particular attention should be paid to page 7 of Cvetic Exhibit No. 92, wherein it plainly states that Communists are not pacifists, and that they distinguish between two kinds of wars. The Communists' interpretation of "just wars" and "unjust wars" is contained on the page mentioned of Cvetic Exhibit No. 92.

Mr. HARRISON. The subcommittee stands adjourned.
(Thereupon, the hearing was adjourned.)

EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA—PART 3, BASED UPON TESTIMONY
OF MATTHEW CVETIC AND DOCUMENTS OF COMMUNIST
PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

A subcommittee of one of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee member present: Hon John S. Wood (chairman).

Staff member present: William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show that for the purpose of this hearing the chairman has designated a subcommittee consisting of the chairman alone.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Chairman, we have for our witness today Mr. Matthew Cvetic, who has testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on numerous occasions, and has fully identified himself previously.

Mr. Cvetic is here to describe certain documents that were obtained by him by virtue of a search and seizure warrant issued by Judge A. Marshall Thompson in Pittsburgh, Pa., from the offices of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. Mr. Cvetic will review the documents and place into the record his opinion as to the importance of certain documents.

I would also like to state that all the documents which Mr. Cvetic will comment upon were received from him in response to a subpoena served on him.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Cvetic, will you please stand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CVETIC. I do.

Mr. Wood. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I now hand you a document which has been entered into our official testimony as "Cvetic exhibit No. 92," entitled "Instructor's Outline for Orientation Course," prepared by

the National Education Commission, Communist Party, United States of America, and ask you to state the source of said document, and also explain to the committee the importance of this document to the Communist Party.¹

Mr. CVETIC. This is one of the documents which I received from the Communist Party office, located in the Bakewell Building in Pittsburgh.

From August 1945 until August 1948 I was a member of the organizational, educational, and financial committee of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, and in this capacity met once a week or oftener to discuss policy for the district of western Pennsylvania.

This document was used as a guide by Communist Party instructors, functionaries, and organizers, for the purpose of outlining courses and classes for new party members, and for those who were being trained in the basic fundamentals of Marxism.

I would like to call attention to page 1 of the original document, entitled "Foreword to the Teacher," which gives an outline of the purposes of this document.

I would also like to call attention to the cover of the document, which has the notation:

Prepared by National Education Commission, Communist Party, United States of America, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

I know this address to be the address of the office of the Communist Party of the United States.

I would further like to call attention to page 6 of the original document, which is headed, "Session II—The United States is an imperialist country."

On page 7 of the original document, under the heading "Imperialism and war," the document, under subheading (b), states, "Communists are not pacifists."

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I understand this is a guide for members of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. WHEELER. In your opinion, how would this particular section be enlarged upon by an instructor using this outline?

Mr. CVETIC. In using this outline, this section would be enlarged upon by an instructor by pointing out the difference between the United States Government, which the Communist Party refers to as an imperialist government, and the Soviet Union, which they refer to as a democratic government or a people's government.

It would further be enlarged upon by excerpts from History of the Soviet Union and other Marxist, Leninist, and Stalin documents, in which the instructor would point out that the Communists oppose all imperialist wars and support the people's countries against what they call imperialist aggression.

Mr. WHEELER. How do you interpret "Communists are not pacifists," which appears as section (b) under the heading "Imperialism and war," appearing on page 7 of the original document, "Cvetic exhibit No. 92"?

¹ For text of document, see p. 3074.

Mr. CVETIC. I can interpret this by reading further from the original document, as follows, under the subheading (b), "Communists are not pacifists":

(1) Just wars; wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism.

(2) Unjust wars; wars of conquest; waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government.

I have heard Steve Nelson, district organizer of the Communist Party, use this quote right out of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in trying to point out that the United States Government is imperialistic. This phrase is parroted by Malik in the United Nations, the Communist press, the Communist Party, the fellow travelers, the Kremlin itself, and is propaganda used by the Soviet Government in the present conflict between the United Nations and Korea.

It is a farce. The entire context is misleading. It is the usual type of party double talk. The ideologies of communism, as taught me by the Communist Party, based on the teachings of Lenin, Marx, and Stalin, prove to me that the Communist Party is an international party based on world conquest, and were I presently still employed as undercover agent in the Communist Party, I would be compelled by the directives contained in this document to oppose my own Government in its fight against Communist aggression in Korea, even to the point of overthrowing the same.

The International Communist Party uses this slide-rule technique to qualify itself during every war. For example, we have noticed the changes that were made in the Communist propaganda line when Hitler attacked Stalin in World War II.

In the present Korean crisis the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is using the line that the Soviet Union, through support of the Korean Communists, is waging a just war.

However, the whole world knows that the North Korean Communists invaded South Korea, and that this led to the Korean war.

When the Communists take over a country it is not a people's government as claimed by them but a part of an international dictatorship which parallels the Nazi dictatorship. As a matter of fact, I have often, in Communist Party classes and discussions, heard that the methods used by Hitler were outstanding examples of proper technique.

On page 13 of the original document, heading II, is "Communist Party—Marxist vanguard of the working class." This is completely erroneous, because I have been taught in the Communist Party that the labor unions in the Soviet Union or any other Communist country is a part of the Government, and that the working classes have no right to speak out regarding labor problems, but are subject to the dictated policies of the state.

On page 14 of the original document, under subsection (b), I would like to place in the record the following, quoting from the original document:

Role of vanguard can be performed only by a party guided by an advanced social science. Communist Party bases all its policies and actions on only scientific theory of working class—Marxism-Leninism.

1. Theory as a guide to action.

On page 15, under subsection (d) 1 of the original document, I quote the following:

Essence of Communist discipline—subordination of the will of individual or minority to majority decision.

I would like to comment that this theory proves conclusively that the individual in a Communist dictatorship has absolutely no individual rights, even to the extent that he is not permitted to use his own mind.

Further, under subsection (d) 2, to prove that every member of the Communist Party is bound by discipline to carry out the program of the international Communist movement, I want to read the following:

Once a decision is made it must be carried out by all without reservations. In other words, the decisions of the Politburo and the Kremlin bind all members of the international Communist Party, of which the United States Communist Party is a part, to the discipline exerted by the party over its members.

I would like to point out that I have discussed only the high lights of this document. The party policies as set forth in this document actually advocate revolt.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I would like for you to examine the document that has been entered in the records of the committee as Cvetic's exhibit No. 93, entitled "Fundamentals of Marxism."

Mr. Chairman, this document was also received by this committee through service of a subpoena upon Mr. Matthew Cvetic.²

Mr. Cvetic, will you give the committee your opinion as to the importance of this document to the present Communist Party movement?

Mr. Cvetic. This document contains an outline which has been prepared by the Communist Party for the purpose of assisting instructors, Communist Party functionaries, and Communist Party organizers who teach classes in the fundamentals of Marxism. The document is an official document of the national education committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

While I was a member of the educational, organizational, and financial committee of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, this original document was used to set up classes for the study of Marxism and Leninism by the educational director for the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

The outline as set forth in this document is in fact a directive to the Communist Party officials in the United States, issued by the national board of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

² For text of document, see p. 3085.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you review this document that I have just handed to you, Cvetic exhibit No. 93?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you explain to the committee your analysis of this document?

Mr. CVETIC. First, I would like to call attention to the fact that the document bears the date January 9, 1946, on page 1. The document is therefore dated subsequent to the national convention of the Communist Party of the United States which was held in July or August 1945, and which I attended. The party, at its 1945 convention, ousted Earl Browder and changed its interpretation of the theories of Marx, Lenin, Engels, and Stalin.

The change made in the summer of 1945 was a tactical maneuver because immediately after the abrogation of the Stalin-Hitler pact and our subsequent entry into World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union became allies against a common foe, Nazi Germany.

During this period the Communist Party, under the direction of Earl Browder, expressed full cooperation with our Government. The Soviet Union, during this period, ostensibly abolished the international Comintern, of which the United States was a part. However, I know from my experiences in the Communist Party that the international Comintern was never abolished, but that it simply went underground. Also, to all outward appearances the Communist Party gave up its revolutionary practices. However, in August 1945, with the war against Germany and Japan over, the Soviet Union once again openly continued its international struggle to establish world communism. Also, it entered into a cold war with the United States and other free nations of the world.

Because of this it became necessary to remove Browder, who represented, on the surface, the Communist policy of cooperation with the United States during World War II. Browder was replaced by William Z. Foster, who immediately parroted the cold-war policy instituted by the Soviet Union. This, of course, was a familiar Communist Party tactic. In 1929, for instance, when a party-line change became necessary, William Z. Foster himself was censured and ousted from a position of trust by the Communist International.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, you have discussed Communist interpretations of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism with the committee before. I would like to ask you if these same interpretations were used in Communist Party classes during the so-called era of cooperation between the Communist Party and the United States Government?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, sir; but they were interpreted in a different way. The Communist Party interprets Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism to suit the expediency of the times. Their ultimate goal is at all times the overthrow of free governments and the establishment of a Communist dictatorship.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I call your attention to lesson I of the document, containing the heading, "The importance of Marxist-Leninist theory," subsection A, entitled, "Without a Revolutionary Theory There Can Be No Revolutionary Movement."³

³ See p. 3086.

I would like for you to describe to the committee exactly how this particular section was explained to you in the Communist Party, and I would like for you to continue on through the exhibit and explain to the committee the highlights of this particular document.

Mr. CVETIC. This was explained in Communist Party classes and discussions in this manner: "We are the party of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Engels. We are the revolutionary party and the vanguard of the working class." And it was our duty as members of the Communist Party to systematically educate and indoctrinate the workers and the people as to their role in the revolution.

This was further interpreted in classes and discussions which I attended that, unless we followed the revolutionary theory of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Engels, it would be impossible to develop a current revolutionary movement and impossible to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat.

As an example of indoctrination of Communists, I have heard Steve Nelson, district organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, refer to the United States as our enemy, and often refer to Josef Stalin as our leader, or as our comrade.

I have also heard Steve Nelson, Jim Dolsen, and Hyman Schlesinger, all Communist Party functionaries, state that, if we are to have a successful revolution in the United States, we must first build the party in western Pennsylvania, because the basic industries are located there, and that it would be impossible to wage a successful revolution in the United States until the party had been strongly entrenched in this strategic area.

These deductions by Communist Party leaders were made on the basis of the theories expressed in the document which I am now analyzing.

On page 1 of the original document, section I, subsection C, the following heading appears: "Our teaching is not a dogma but a guide to action."

This has often been quoted in Communist Party classes which I attended to elucidate the point that the Communist Party is not a party of theory, but a party of action, the theory being to guide the party into a revolutionary role.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I notice on page 3 of the original document, Cvetic exhibit 93, references are given to several books. I wonder if you would read the titles of the books into the record and state whether or not you were required to read these books as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. The reading material listed on page 3⁴ are entitled: "Communist Manifesto"; "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"; "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union"; "Foundations of Leninism," by Stalin; "Karl Marx," by Lenin; "Marxism and Revisionism," by Lenin; "Differences in the European Labour Movement," by Lenin; "Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," by Lenin; "The Struggle Against Revisionism," by Foster, as contained in part 1, September Political Affairs.

These were all required reading material for the classes which were set up under this original document.

⁴ See p. 3088.

On page 6 of this original document, under section IV, subsection A, the following appears:

The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property.

My analysis of this document, based on what I was taught while working as an undercover agent in the Communist Party, is that the Communist Party teaches the methods of infiltration into the labor movement, mass organizations, veteran groups, youth organizations, and other organized groups, in an effort to control the groups and convert them into organizations which would be utilized by the Communist Party to seize power.

On page 9 of this original document, under section III, subsection B (3), the following appears:

Limitations of the trade-unions—"trade-union politics" are not the same as Communist politics.

The interpretation given me of this section is that the Communist Party has its own program and its own role to play, separate and aside from the trade-unions; and this was further brought out in other teachings and classes, where the Communist Party taught that we were to gain control of the trade-unions to carry our party line into them and to use them to educate the workers in our revolutionary program, and also to use them as a base from which to overthrow the United States Government.

In August 1945, Steve Nelson, Communist Party organizer, and Andy Onda, Communist Party steel organizer, were sent to western Pennsylvania by the National Board of the Communist Party of the United States to gain control of the big trade-union movement in Pittsburgh for the Communist Party.

The Communist Party considered the control of the trade-unions in the Pittsburgh area as vital, because it was necessary for the Communist Party to have control of basic industries such as coal, steel, and so forth.

While the Communist Party gives the impression on the surface that it is primarily interested in trade-unions, actually the welfare of the unions is secondary; that is, unions are converted into organizations subservient to the Communist cause.

We were also taught in Communist Party classes the procedures to be followed after the Socialist revolution. This is set forth on page 13, section III, of this document, under the heading, "The State Following the Socialist Revolution." And I would like to quote under section A:

The "dictatorship of the proletariat is the state during the transition period between capitalism and socialism."

The present government of Soviet Russia is the result of the Socialist revolution of 1917 and is of course a dictatorship. However, it is not under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is ruled by a small group of dictators.

I would also like to read into the record subsection A (1) under part III, as follows:

The historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the destruction of capitalism and the organization of socialism.

This is a bare statement taught by the Communist Party that certainly reflects that they teach the overthrow of our present government, which is a capitalist form of government.

Mr. Chairman, there has been quite a controversy over whether the Communist Party is directly controlled by the Soviet Union. I would like to read the following into the record, which appears on page 34 of the original document under lesson IX. The quotation which I am about to read is from a book by Lenin entitled "*Left-Wing Communism*," pages 71-72. The quote is as follows:

The main thing now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account the fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and "Left" doctrinairism as well as the concrete peculiar features which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in accordance with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition, its colonies, religious divisions, etc. * * * Now all efforts must be concentrated on * * * seeking out the forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that this is taught to the Communists here in the United States.

The important part of the section which I quoted is the following: "The main thing now is that the Communists of every country * * *." This would certainly prove that communism is an international movement having as its objective the overthrow of all the free governments of the world.

I would like to refer to the following on page 35, section III, subsection B (3a):

Utilization of the proper forms of struggle needed at the time under the given circumstances.

Mr. Chairman, I have already brought out before this committee that the Communist Party changes its interpretation of Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism as the need arises, as we have witnessed in the past 10 years, prior to World War II, during World War II, and subsequent to World War II.

An example of this was given to you in earlier testimony in regard to the change-over from Earl Browder to William Z. Foster, and other party line changes. In other words, Mr. Chairman, the Communist Party interprets its teachings to fit the times as the situation arises.

On page 35, subsection B (4), the following appears:

The difference between revolutionary and reformist tactics.

This was interpreted to me in Communist Party classes to mean that the Communist Party is a revolutionary party, and that those who advocate and teach peaceful transition from socialism are reformists. However, reformists are used and exploited by the Communist Party through its front organizations.

Mr. Chairman, these are all the comments I have to make on this document at this time. The document does contain the theories and practices of the Communist Party, which would eventually lead to world revolution.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I now hand you Cvetic exhibit No. 94, which was received from you by virtue of a subpoena, and ask if you have any comment to make on this exhibit. It is entitled "Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, 426 Bakewell Building, Pittsburgh, Pa."⁵

Mr. CVETIC. This original document, which is a directive pertaining to the Sunday and Daily Worker drive, was issued by the western Pennsylvania office of the Communist Party, and contains a list of the clubs and sections of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania on page 2. From my recollection, this was for the year 1948. The strength of the various Communist sections and clubs can be judged by the campaign quotas and circulation as contained on page 2 of this document.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I now hand you a document previously entered into our records as Cvetic exhibit No. 95, and which was received from you by virtue of a subpoena. The document is entitled; "Memorandum on Youth Work and Policy."⁶ Before asking you to review the document I would like to ask you whether or not the Communists consider it important to concentrate on the youth of America?

Mr. CVETIC. The Communists consider work among the youth of greatest importance. On this I need only quote William Albertson, the district secretary of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, who stated at a meeting of Communist Party district committee in the Fort Pitt Hotel in Pittsburgh the following:

Hitler got control of the youth in Germany before he was able to wage a successful revolution in that country. We got control of the youth in the Soviet Union before we were able to wage a successful revolution in 1917. And we must gain control of the youth in the United States if we are going to wage a successful revolution here.

Mr. WHEELER. Is that a quote from him?

Mr. CVETIC. That is a quote from William Albertson.

This document, "Memorandum on Youth Work and Policy," was adopted by the national board of the Communist Party on November 29, 1945. It came into being as the direct result of the decisions of the national convention of the Communist Party of the United States held in July or August 1945, the youth panel of which I myself attended. It has been followed by the Communist Party since then, and was still the basis of the party's youth work when I left the party in February 1950. The one variation from this document has been that the Communist Party has changed the name of its Communist youth organization to the Labor Youth League.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I now hand you a document identified as Cvetic exhibit No. 96, which was likewise received from you by virtue of a subpoena. The document is entitled, "Discussion Outline for the Fight Against the Mundt-Nixon Bill," issued by the national educational department, Communist Party. I hand you the document and ask you to make any comment you may have on it.

Mr. CVETIC. I notice a reference in this document to an editorial of March 1950, so the document evidently was printed by the Communist Party subsequent to the time I left. However, I am very familiar with the program of the Communist Party against the Mundt-Nixon

⁵ For text of document, see p. 3110.

⁶ For text of document, see p. 3117.

bill, and also its reasons for waging an organized fight against this bill.

When the Mundt-Nixon bill was first projected in Congress, the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania immediately received directives to wage a fight against it. We held countless policy meetings of the Communist Party district committee and functionaries for the purpose of organizing letters, post cards, telegrams, and other forms of protests against this bill.

We also organized delegations to go to Washington, D. C., to protest against this bill. The majority of these delegations were not organized by the Communist Party as such, but the Communist Party members were instructed to go to their trade-unions, mass organizations, fraternal organizations, and wherever the Communist Party had any influence, and attempt to have protest delegates go to Washington, D. C. I myself participated in the gathering of names on petitions protesting the Mundt-Nixon bill, and also accompanied two or three delegations that came to Washington, D. C., to make verbal protests to the Congressmen in Washington, D. C.

I can state for western Pennsylvania that the organized fight against the Mundt-Nixon bill, the strategy and planning of the activities in the fight against this bill, were headed by the district organizer of the Communist Party, and carried out by the Communist Party district committee and functionaries through the various trade-unions, front organizations, mass groups, and three or four organizations created by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania for the specific purpose of opposing such legislation as the Mundt-Nixon bill and other legislation which they felt would possibly legislate them out of business. The Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania also played an important role in efforts to defeat the Mundt-Nixon bill, and at the same time worked closely with the national committee to defeat the Mundt bill.

One of these organizations which the district committee set up in western Pennsylvania was a branch or unit of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, and as one of the activities of this unit the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania organized delegations to go to Washington, D. C., in answer to a request from the national office of this organization, which was located in Washington.

Material attacking this bill, together with petitions put out by the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, were made available to me and to other leading party functionaries in western Pennsylvania by the district office of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. WHEELER. You mentioned that you traveled to Washington, D. C., to picket in opposition to the Mundt-Nixon bill. Who supplied the money for transportation and other expenses in connection with your travels to Washington?

Mr. CVETIC. The money was supplied by the district office of the Communist Party, the UE, the American Slav Congress, the Civil Rights Congress, the Progressive Party, the International Workers Order, and several other Communist-front organizations.

The car transportation was also supplied by the Communist Party office, the district office of the United Electrical Workers, and the other mentioned groups.

Mr. WHEELER. You mentioned that an organization was set up in Pittsburgh entitled "The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill." Do you have any knowledge as to where their offices were located?

Mr. CVETIC. In western Pennsylvania we did not have any offices of this committee. The entire work of this particular committee in western Pennsylvania was planned right in the office of the district committee of the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania, which is located on the sixth floor of the Bakewell Building.

It was one of the decisions of the Communist Party to use as many Communist-front and mass organizations as possible, to give the impression that there was broad mass support against this type of anti-Communist legislation.

On the contrary,—and I can speak for western Pennsylvania—every delegate with whom I traveled to Washington, D. C., was a member of the Communist Party, fellow traveler, or sympathizer; and every organization, without qualification, was either a Communist organization or directly or indirectly controlled by one or more members of the Communist Party.

One of my own assignments in connection with this committee—and I am speaking of an assignment by the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania—was to work within the framework of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, to take necessary steps to secure literature and petition forms from the national committee, and to see that they were distributed to the various Communist Party branches and clubs and other Communist-front organizations which we, as Communists, were able to influence against this legislation.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you, as a member of the Communist Party, consider the objectives of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill the same as the objectives of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. I had good opportunity to compare the Communist Party material regarding this bill with the material distributed by the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill. On comparison, I would say that the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill followed throughout the Communist Party line. The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill was referred to by the officials of the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania as "one of our organizations."

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, you have previously stated that you received petitions from the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, with offices in Washington, D. C., and that you gave these petitions to individuals to circulate and secure names thereon. I would like to ask you what happened to the petitions after they were completed?

Mr. CVETIC. I advised the people to whom I gave petition forms to mail the completed petitions to Washington, D. C. The signed petitions which came into my possession, I turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. WHEELER. I now show you a document entered into the testimony as Cvetic exhibit No. 97. It is entitled "Two Speeches by

Joseph Stalin." This document was also obtained from you by virtue of a subpoena. Do you have any comments to make on this document? ⁷

Mr. CVETIC. Throughout my association in the Communist Party, speeches by Joseph Stalin and other international leaders were made available to us to help us master the international Communist revolutionary movement. The fact that these particular speeches, which were made in 1926, were translated for the first time in English in March 1950, indicates that the contents are important now.

The original document was removed from the desk of Steve Nelson, the district organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I now would like for you to review and comment on Cvetic exhibit No. 98, entitled, "Plan of Work of National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A., July 15—Labor Day, 1950." ⁸

Mr. CVETIC. This document was removed from the desk of Steve Nelson, district organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, by myself, and later subpoenaed by this committee from me. It outlines the Communist plan in regard to the present conflict in Korea between the United Nations and the Communist state of North Korea.

Reviewing this document, it is practically a summary of Malik's addresses before the United Nations. In other words, the program of the Communist Party in regard to the Korean situation is a parallel to the Soviet Union's position in regard to the present crisis. It advertises the current line set forth by Soviet Russia, and the present camouflage program for peace.

It is also stated in this document that one of the Communist Party objectives is to help secure 5,000,000 signatures on the petition for "World Peace Appeal." This is commonly known as the Stockholm peace petition. This program was principally set up to disarm the rest of the world while the Soviet Union and her satellites are busy arming for war.

In my opinion the document in its entirety is of a seditious nature, and it is an official document of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

Mr. WHEELER. The next document which I present to you for identification is entered into our records as Cvetic exhibit No. 99, and is entitled "A Guide to the Club—Its Role in Building the United Front in 1950—a Handbook for Community Club Officers," prepared by Carl Dorfman, and issued by the national organization department of the Communist Party, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Mr. Chairman, all previous documents referred to have been copied into our record. However, this particular document has not been copied, and I request that the document in whole be incorporated into the record at this time.

Mr. Wood. So ordered.

⁷ For text of document, see p. 3122.

⁸ For text of document, see p. 3133.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 99," is as follows:)

A GUIDE TO THE CLUB—ITS ROLE IN BUILDING THE UNITED FRONT IN 1950

A HANDBOOK FOR COMMUNITY CLUB OFFICERS

(Prepared by Carl Dorfman)

Issued by National Organization Department, Communist Party,
35 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

"* * * the American working class, and especially its Communist vanguard, must show itself in action as the champion of the Nation's interests and of peace, as the best fighter for the social welfare and progress of the immense majority of the American people. It must unite its own ranks in militant struggle and gather around itself all patriotic and democratic elements. It must reinforce the democratic antimonopoly and antiwar coalition now emerging, and give it fighting working-class leadership.

"This is the path of unity of action, of class struggle." (Eugene Dennis, report to the Fourteenth National Convention, C. P. U. S. A., *Political Affairs*, September 1948, pp. 791-792.)

INTRODUCTION

THIS IS A FACT, COMRADES:

THE GUARANTEE that the Big-Money Boys will not be able to establish fascism—

THE GUARANTEE that they will not be able to carry our country into World War III, an imperialist hell-bomb war, whose destruction it is difficult to contemplate—

THAT GUARANTEE lies in the way your club of the Communist Party brings to the workers in the neighborhood and in the shop a clearer grasp of how to fight the war danger and how to stop fascism.

How will your small club, with all its weaknesses, be able to do such a job?

The key lies in a clear, down-to-earth understanding of *what the united front means to your club.*

This is what the national committee of our party wants to discuss with you in this pamphlet: How the party club can build the united front in its area during this year, 1950.

This manual is for the community clubs. It does not deal with the role and specific problems of the shop clubs. However, many ideas contained herein can be of use to all clubs.

The forces of democracy and peace are the most powerful ones in the United States—more powerful than those that are for war and fascism. What is necessary is to organize the democratic forces. *The cornerstone of the work of every Communist Party club for 1950, shop or community, is helping to build the united front of the working class and all democratic forces.*

What do we mean by the *united front*? What does the united front mean to a party club? How do we go about building it in our neighborhood?

First question first. What do we mean by the *united front*?

Gus Hall states it clearly in his article on the *United Front, the Key to Victory*:

*"In the final analysis, the united front is the welding together of human beings, of individuals from general political groupings, representing many trends in American life * * * it takes people to agree to unite for action"* (*Political Affairs*, December 1949.)

BUILDING THE UNITED FRONT IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Many of our party clubs are not rooted in their neighborhoods, and face the question of how and where to start in their work. The heart of the answer is: what are the main problems facing the workers in your neighborhood.

The major question facing the people of the United States in the year 1950 is: WILL WE BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN PEACE, OR WILL THE BIG-MONEY

BOYS OF WALL STREET SUCCEEDED IN STARTING WORLD WAR III, an imperialist war, which will bring devastation to the United States and major areas of the rest of the world.

There are powerful currents for peace in the ranks of labor and the people of the United States. Even some of the world's leading imperialists, who are trying to help start World War III find themselves compelled to make big speeches for renewed U. S.-U. S. S. R. negotiations on outlawing the H-bomb.

On Thursday, February 16, Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.) spoke from the floor of the Senate and called on Secretary Acheson to "try another roadway" to agreement with Russia. On Friday, February 17, Tom Connally (D., Tex.) suggested a Big Three Conference of Foreign Ministers on atomic controls. In England, on Tuesday, February 14, Winston Churchill, campaigning for election, called for a "top level" attempt to reach agreement with Soviet Russia on atomic control and an end to the cold war. Says the New York Times (February 19), "In Britain, as elsewhere, the dread of the A- and H-bomb underlies all other worries."

The mass desire for peace is clearly shown when even the New York Times is forced to acknowledge in an editorial on February 16, "*Mr. Churchill's talk of a truce in the cold war will appeal to an electorate yearning, like people in this country, like people all over the globe, for some assurance of peace.*"

Undoubtedly, this is the problem facing the people in your neighborhood around which the greatest unity can be achieved.

I. HOW CAN YOUR CLUB HELP ESTABLISH UNITY OF THE PEOPLE FOR PEACE?

What kind of steps can be taken in your neighborhood to give expression to the mass sentiment for peace?

Can your club help to get together a limited number of people or organizations to sponsor a neighborhood?

PEACE BALLOT

Calling upon President Truman—

- To outlaw the H-bomb.
- To negotiate Now with the Soviet Union.
- To outlaw atomic warfare and halt the cold war.

Or, would these sponsors be willing to call a neighborhood rally against the H-bomb? Or, perhaps a mass Peace Ballot would help lay the base for and popularize a united *Neighborhood Peace Rally*.

Would it be possible at such a Neighborhood Rally to launch a still bigger and broader petition to President Truman calling upon him to undertake negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for atomic disarmament and an end to the cold war?

In other words, what we wish to indicate here are:

FIRST. The *decisive place* where the ability to hold the Wall Street warmongers in check will be decided at the GRASS ROOTS, in *your neighborhood*. This is not just a question of National politics or State politics, but rather, and most important, it is a question of local politics.

PEACE IS A COMMUNITY PROBLEM. The fight for peace is neighborhood politics.

SECOND. Your club should use its own initiative and go to work *now* on this question. Actions should not be limited to ballots, petitions, and rallies. We must remember that people express their determination for peace in their own way: Church groups conduct mass prayers. Some organizations send delegations to various political representatives. Some organizations lay wreaths commemorating those who have given their lives in war and pledge themselves to work for peace. These and other forms of expression help swell the demand that we shall not face the holocaust of atomic destruction.

THIRD. In building the united front, a conference, a peace ballot, etc., should not be an end in itself. One step should lead to a second. What we must develop is a sustained fight for peace; develop joint or parallel actions of all kinds; establish peace committees in every neighborhood. *In the final analysis, our objective is to unite the broadest sections of people, in the first place the workers and the Negro people, to make impossible World War III and the rise of fascism in the United States.*

We are just indicating here some limited forms that the united front for peace may take. Our party can play a vanguard role in welding together that mass sentiment against the horror of the H-bomb in each community.

FOURTH. *The very right to fight for peace is itself endangered at this moment.* The Mundt-Ferguson bill is designed precisely for the purpose of attempting to stop such unity of the people as is spreading throughout the country in the growing peace movement. The right of all people opposed to a war of atomic destruction to unite their forces and voice their ideas must be defended by fighting against the Mundt-Ferguson bill.

In the Parent-teacher Associations, in organizations of the Negro people, in lodges, in churches, in youth groups, in women's organizations, in various neighborhood groups, the overwhelming number of people, like the Communists, have a common desire for peace. Communists who are members of such organizations should give a lot of thought to how they can make the best contribution in the struggle for peace.

The form of united action for peace and the best road to it will vary from community to community.

The problem that each club must tackle *now* and USE INITIATIVE ON, is how best to help its community get on the road toward establishing such united action.

But peace is just one problem around which large masses of people in your neighborhood can be united.

Let us examine some others.

II. A VITAL UNITED-FRONT LESSON FROM THE MINERS' STRIKE

The miners have just won a great victory. They have dealt a real blow to the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley law. Their victory was won in the face of the combined assault of the mine owners, the Truman administration, the courts, the press, and radio. Victory, in the face of such powerful forces, was due to the heroic solidarity of the miners throughout their 9 months of battle *and the united-front support that was rallied behind this decisive strike.* Trade-unionist in Chicago, Cleveland, and other cities; the farmers of New Jersey; the people from church groups and fraternal lodges; the neighborhood folks in Brooklyn rallied by the ALP, the readers of the Daily Worker—all united behind this key struggle. Tens of tons of food were sent to the miners. And, as the strike ended, this united movement was spreading to union locals and to neighborhoods throughout the country.

In this fight of the miners we have an outstanding example of how the united front can be built. Our party played an important role and made a major contribution in helping to develop this united movement. The party clubs made house-to-house and store-to-store collections for food, explaining the issues and obtaining participation of many new people in solidarity with the miners. Our party members raised the issue of the miners' strike in unions, shops, and mass organizations.

People once *reached*—responded. They gave food. They spoke out in support of the strike. They demanded a stop to Taft-Hartley injunctions. A powerful united movement of solidarity arose. Vast sections of the people were rallied in support of this working-class struggle.

The lesson that the miners' strike teaches us—the lesson we must not forget is: *The most important form of the united front in the communities is building the unity of all progressive forces behind the struggles of the workers in industry.*

III. BUILDING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED

"There is not a worker in America who does not fear the economic crisis like a plague. This fear hangs over the industrial valley and cities of Ohio like a heavy fog" (Gus Hall, December 1949 *Political Affairs*).

The economic crisis is assuming increasingly grave proportions all over the country. In the ranks of the Negro people, mass unemployment constitutes a burning problem. Among the youth, the women, unemployment is mounting. There is not a single working-class community in the country where unemployment is not a key problem *right now.*

What can your section or club do to unite the unemployed, to organize the fight for increased unemployment insurance, increased relief benefits, and to defeat any proposed relief cuts?

Wherever there is mass unemployment, a most important form of the united front is that of organizing the unemployed. One of the most devastating crises

in our history is shaping up. As it develops the bourgeoisie will try desperately, through demagogues, to divert the discontent of the unemployed masses into reactionary channels.

Now is the time when the progressive forces should turn major attention to the organization of the unemployed. Meetings of unemployed on a neighborhood level. Delegations to relief agencies. Stopping evictions of unemployed workers. Establishing block or area unemployed councils. Securing the support of the employed workers, the whole community, for the needs of the unemployed. In the course of such organization we must build the unity of Negro and white. It was through such powerful unity, along exactly such lines, that we were able to defeat cuts in relief, to win increased relief, and eventually unemployment insurance, in the last crisis.

* * * * *

This is how a successful community action was carried through in Chicago. (From the Du Sable edition of *The Worker*, March 19, 1950:)

"WIN RELIEF AID FOR AGED DIABETIC"

"Here's the story of how one Chicago community dealt with the inhuman treatment of a neighbor on relief and won for him the assurance of continued aid.

"The West Side Committee for Adequate Relief went into action in the case of Ned King, 1937 West Warren Avenue, a 61-year-old Negro worker disabled by heart disease and diabetes. He received \$54.39 per month from the welfare department for food, rent, etc. Nothing was allowed for personal needs, or carfare.

"Suddenly the welfare department threatened to cut off \$8.50, the extra amount allowed for his diabetic diet. They said that the doctor had not sent in the 'forms' to prove his need.

"The committee's secretary, Ulene Southall, told how they first organized a delegation to the relief office to see what could be done—but they got no satisfaction there.

"A leaflet was addressed to Governor Stevenson calling the case of Ned King to his attention. They pointed out that this case was typical of the plight of other relief clients and that immediate steps had to be taken.

"The leaflet called for (1) a special session of the State legislature to consider additional appropriations for relief; (2) all State representatives and senators to speak out against this inhuman treatment of clients; (3) all civic-minded individuals and organizations to protest the relief cuts which were being made.

"The entire neighborhood was canvassed with leaflets. Churches and other groups were talked to about the case. An additional delegation went to Alderman George D. Kells of the Twenty-eighth Ward, State chairman of the Democratic Party.

"Returning to the relief office, they now got a different reception. Assurances were given that King's budget would not be cut. He was given carfare to go to the doctor when necessary. And every effort was promised to get him placed in a convalescent home."

The administration that is spending 20 billions on war preparations, that is sending additional billions abroad to prop up every reactionary administration in the world, and now wants to ship billions to Fascist Franco, cannot claim to have no money available for its unemployed workers at home.

IV. THE UNITED FRONT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

The Truman administration has betrayed the FEPC fight. Lynchings and mob violence are increasing. In the face of increased attacks on the Negro people, the administration has not brought one single lyncher to justice. City, State, and Federal agencies have failed to defend the right of the Negro people to live in nonghettoed areas. Police brutality is increasing throughout the country.

The growth of the Negro people's liberation movement since the end of World War II underscores the power and breadth of the unity that can be developed in fighting against these vicious attacks on the Negro people. A good example is the more than 5,000 Negro and white delegates who gathered in the civil-rights mobilization in Washington, January 1950. This demonstration showed that the administration's broken promises in relation to civil rights

for the Negro people is meeting resistance *not only in the ranks of the Negro masses but also among increasing sections of the labor-progressive forces.*

There is growing recognition in the ranks of the progressive white workers, that these attacks on the Negro people are part of the growth of the Fascist danger in the United States and that attacks on the civil liberties of the Negro people threaten the civil rights of the working class as a whole.

While the Communist Party has made important contributions in developing the united-front struggle for Negro rights, they are only beginnings. Clubs must take the initiative in every community in the fight against anti-Negro violence, discrimination, and segregation. We have excellent examples of significant victories in areas where this fight has been seriously undertaken.

On New York's Lower East Side the party and a number of other progressive organizations were instrumental in initiating a campaign for jobs in Woolworth's for Negro workers. Mass picket lines were maintained in front of Woolworth's every Saturday for months. The importance of Negro-Jewish unity was explained to the Jewish people who constitute the majority of the community. At the same time a united front was built with a large number of neighborhood organizations and leading individuals. After 9 months, Woolworth's was forced to capitulate and jobs were won for Negro sales clerks. Such struggles have been developed in hundreds of communities throughout the country.

* * * * *

The struggle for Negro rights must be organized in each community. In one area the fight may be for a local or Federal FEPC with teeth in it. In other areas it may be to eliminate restrictive covenants and for nonsegregated housing projects. It may be to force the punishment of lynchers and "legal" murderers of Negroes. It may be to stop increased police violence. It may be to free Mrs. Ingram, the Trenton Six, or other victims of Jim Crow justice.

The united front for the election of Negro candidates in 1950 is already beginning to shape up in many places. By linking the struggles that are developed around issues with the right of the Negro people to represent themselves in government our party clubs can make an important contribution to the Negro people's liberation movement.

Often, powerful movements can be built around local issues.—The callous discrimination against the Negro people in various city and county governments expresses itself in the scandalous conditions prevailing in the public schools and the hospitals (or lack of them) in ghetto areas. Classrooms, originally built for 25 to 30 children, crowd in 50 or more. Buildings are often fire hazards. Some of them more than 50 years old. What mother will not join her neighbors to help eliminate such conditions? Many teachers, as well as the teachers unions, will want to be part of a campaign to improve conditions prevailing in these schools.

Here is a problem around which the broadest unity of the neighborhood, and of Negro and white, can be built.

How do we go about helping to build the united front for improved school conditions? Let's start with the club itself. How many comrades have children of their own attending the school? Secondly, how many of the comrades know parents of children going to this school—a neighbor in the house, etc. Third, how can we best go the neighborhood on the question of improved school conditions. Can we help to get a small group of parents to issue a petition to the neighborhood? Or a leaflet? Is it possible to call a conference of parents, teachers, representatives from the teachers union, and neighbors who would help get improved school conditions for the children. And we must not let our work lapse after such a conference. Such a conference is not the end of the united front. It's just the beginning.

Or take another problem, which is pressing in many communities, especially in Negro communities—that of the inadequate, poorly equipped hospitals. A united struggle on the broadest basis can succeed in winning improved conditions and appropriations. In many cases there are already organizations and individuals deeply concerned over the Government's callous disregard for the health of the Negro people. Doctors' and nurses' organizations. People who as patients have faced intolerable overcrowding. To bring these forces together, to introduce new organizations and individuals in the fight for decent hospital conditions, can be a major contribution of a party club.

Imagine what 20 billion dollars can do in terms of saving life, building schools, better health for the people—especially the most oppressed sections of our population.

But when 20 billion dollars is being spent to fashion death—there is nothing left with which to build life.

Today, when more than 20 billions are being spent on war preparations, the conditions of the hospitals and schools in many communities in the United States are disgraceful. Look around. What is the situation in your community?

V. UNITING THE NEIGHBORHOOD AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

The drive toward fascism whips up increased anti-Semitism. How can a small party club, that does not have too many connections with the neighborhood, help to unite the people in their neighborhood against the growth of anti-Semitism?

On January 29, at the Hotel Astor in New York, a Hearst-inspired conference initiated by the leadership of the American Legion was attended by most Fascist groups in the United States. (See Daily Worker, January 31, 1950.) Present were brazen anti-Semites, open Fascists of the Merwin K. Hart variety, who use the claim of fighting communism as the smokescreen behind which to spread anti-Semitism, anti-Negro, and union-busting ideas. To their shame, some leaders of the B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, and the Jewish War Veterans shared the platform with these open anti-Semites.

Is your club in a position to do either or both of the following: (1) Help to rally the people against this would-be Fascist center, before it can really get under way; (2) get members of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, and the Jewish War Veterans, or leading members of Jewish organizations, to urge strongly that no Jewish leader should associate with such Fascist cabal. Already many such letters are pouring into the national headquarters of these organizations and are having an effect.

Let's discuss the first question in greater detail. How can a club help to rally and unite people against this Fascist center?

1. In what organizations are your club members? Can they, or some invited speaker, discuss what the formation of such a center will mean to America, at one of the organization's meetings?

2. How can you reach the Jewish organizations in your community, the Progressive Party clubs, organizations of the Negro people, unions, lodges, churches, civic groups, etc.? Is there a community youth center? Can the formation of this Fascist outfit be raised at the local Democratic club meeting, at the fraternal organization in your neighborhood?

3. Is it possible to set up a provisional committee sponsored by some community organizations to call a conference of neighborhood organizations? This conference could discuss what steps can be taken in the face of such an attempt by anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, antilabor forces to set up a Fascist center in the United States.

Or let us take the question of such anti-Semitic acts as the smashing of windows in stores owned by Jewish shopkeepers, the painting of swastikas on synagogues, etc. Is it not possible for our party to go to work and help unite the neighborhood store owners, various neighborhood clubs, and prominent individuals to speak out against, and demand adequate protection of local, State, and Federal agencies against such outrages?

VI. BUILDING THE UNITED FRONT OF INDIVIDUALS

In building the united front in the community, there should not be any mechanical approaches. Sometimes the united front takes the form of bringing together the organizations in the community. But the united front can be organized also through bringing together individuals of varying views.

Some clubs say there are no organizations or clubs in their territory, therefore they cannot contribute toward building the united front. But "the welding together of human beings, of individuals from general political groupings" also constitutes the building of the united front. *Peace committees of individuals; unemployed councils uniting individual unemployed workers; tenants' organizations; all are forms of the united front.*

POINTS TO KEEP IN MIND

Some of the points to keep in mind, which will help to guide our clubs in building the united front, are:

"We must be ready to join movements and actions initiated by others. One of the most successful coalitions, the American Youth Congress, was not initiated by the Communists.

"We must not attempt to include our full program on every issue in every united movement. Movements are built around a minimum number of specific issues.

"We must not try to hand over to a united coalition a tailor-made program or organization. All these detailed questions must be worked out together with other forces in the coalition.

"We must not hog the leadership. A united coalition needs a coalition also in leadership.

"We must not join united movements with preconceived ideas of complete unity. A coalition, a united front, presupposes differences—differences on program, on form, and methods.

"We must be ready at all times to be flexible on these details. We must be ready at all times to learn from the other forces in the united front. There is much we can learn and profit from the experiences of others.

"We must never be the 'We told you so' wiseacres. We must never give the wrong impression of gloating over setbacks and difficulties in our efforts to expose the misleaders who are responsibility for these setbacks.

"The essence of our leadership in a united front must be mass political education in the process of the struggle itself" (Gus Hall, December 1949 PA, p. 31).

SOME DANGERS TO THE UNITED FRONT

The worst enemies of the united front are the Social Democratic and labor misleaders. They will often oppose the united front or, if they enter it, they will try to sabotage it, or try to turn it away from its purpose and destroy it. Communists must therefore work to build the united front from below. That means to establish close contacts with the *members* of fraternal, social or political organizations including those headed by labor misleaders. It means also to approach the local bodies of these organizations.

Where labor misleaders enter united fronts, Communists must work in such a way as to prevent them from harming the struggle. This can be done by exposing them effectively, skillfully, so as to isolate them. This can be done not by name-calling, but by showing up their actions in relation to the *issues* and the concrete struggles organized to win the workers' demands.

We must always bear in mind that what the Communists see or understand in the conduct of the misleaders, is not at once clear to others. Therefore, Communists must work in such a way that the rank-and-file people will support their proposals and accept criticism of the Social Democratic misleaders, if such criticism is necessary, as correct and just and in the interests of the united struggle.

SOLVING CLUB PROBLEMS IN MASS WORK

Whatever the correct road to the united front in your neighborhood, it can be done *now*. But, there are some that say: "We should build our party club first. We have a problem of poor attendance, lagging dues payments, poor mobilization for the sale of the Daily Worker and The Worker; our educational work needs to be strengthened. First we have to cut down on the membership fluctuation in our club, improve the sale of literature, and then we'll be ready to tackle the question of building the united front."

But what does low attendance, poor dues payments, and weak mobilization reflect? Exactly that we have not yet undertaken in life, in practice, to organize the people for struggle. Lenin stated that a party is invincible if it is able "to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, to a certain extent if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of toilers—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the nonproletarian toiling masses." (Quoted in History of CPSU, p. 362.)

We have tried to give some examples of the first steps which clubs can take in building the united front in their areas. But these are just *limited* examples. The united front can be developed around a whole gamut of problems. Around a single issue, or several. In some areas it will take the form of bringing organizations together. In others, bringing individuals together. But always its aim is to unite people for action!

THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE PARTY CLUB

In approaching the building of the united front we must clearly understand the "key question of defining exactly the role of the party in relation to the mass movement. This question is sometimes posed incorrectly as the "inde-

pendent role of the party versus coalition." Uncertainty on this problem creates debates and confusion that make it impossible to move our comrades, as they should be moved, to build the party in this period.

"In this connection, it seems to me that the basic question that should be posed is: What kind of leadership are we giving to the mass movement? For, when we talk about the independent role of the party, we do not mean thereby a role that isolates us from the masses, that causes us to move ahead of them too quickly, or to lag behind them. By the independent role of the party, we mean that ours is a vanguard party, i. e., one that is integrally linked with the masses, not separated from them, helping them to move forward, and leading them in their forward movement. We have the task of ourselves understanding, and making clear to the masses, the oneness of our party with the masses, and of showing that within this unity the party is the most advanced sector. We must bring to the people the increasing understanding that we are the advanced sector, not just by saying so, but by helping to increase the fighting capacity of the people at all levels of struggle. And this we can do precisely by increasing our own fighting capacity, and by improving the quality of the leadership we give to the mass movement on the basis of our scientific understanding. That is what we must grasp; and the sooner we end all talk about 'independent role of the party versus coalition,' the better it will be.

"The leadership of the party is oftentimes blunted, and its work is developed unevenly, because of the failure of many of our comrades to see clearly what is meant by the independent role of the party. Too often it is reduced merely to a question of holding a mass meeting, of issuing a leaflet, of the sale of our press, etc. The building of the mass movement, of the party, becomes something other than the expression of the vanguard role of our party. But this is unnecessary, mechanical division; it is not an 'either-or' process. We must learn to see the oneness in our party work—developing our line and activity among the masses, and in this way, and at the same time, building our party.

"Why is this question so important today? Because it is directly tied up with how our party can spur on the general anti-Fascist struggle; work with organized masses; lead those masses, and at the same time abide by democratic decisions; and, at all stages, maintain and extend the mass influence of our party, and build it in that process. This, it seems to me is the way in which the question of the independent role of our party should be posed. It is this approach that should be applied by our community clubs, the general approach to apply to every phase of party activity." (*Henry Winston, August 1947, p. 4, pp. 737-738.*)

A lot of thought must be given by the party to the question of "*helping to increase the fighting capacity of the people at all levels of struggle.*" What does this mean in practice? How do we go about it?

1. On many concrete issues the position of the party is more advanced than that which the united-front movement is prepared to take at a given moment. For example, within a united front for peace in your neighborhood there may be many elements, including those that think the Soviet Union is equally responsible with the United States for the fact that no stable peace develops. We should maintain unity with such forces so long as they are ready and willing to fight on one or another issue that will advance the struggle for peace. The party as part of the united front would continue to help build, broaden, and strengthen it, and at the same time work to convince those inside this movement that the real danger of war stems from the fact that Wall Street and not the Soviet Union or the peoples' democracies is striving to dominate the world.

2. However, the party in its own name could issue leaflets pointing out that the Soviet Union has repeatedly called for peace negotiations, what an atomic war would mean, and demand that the Truman administration negotiate with the Soviet Union for peace, disarmament, and outlawing of the hell bomb. A clear recognition of the fact that the warmongers sit in Wall Street, that Truman is following their dictates and thereby endangering the lives of the American people, will give the democratic, antiwar forces, far greater fighting capacity.

Bringing the position of the party on many key questions and in varied form to the people will win prestige for the party and build its organization and membership. This can be accomplished as a result of the party's work among the people through the initiation of, and in the course of, the united-front struggles.

The position of the party can be brought both to members of the united-front movement and the neighborhood at large not only by means of leaflets, but also with forums, sale of and canvassing with *The Worker*. We should make known the position of the Communist Party on such community issues as peace, relief, aid to strikers and many others.

BUILDING THE PARTY

In building the united front we must not make the error of neglecting the party organization. For there are those who say: "We're all for it, it should be done. The united front should be built. To do it, means we cannot pay too much attention to the party organization." But one cannot tackle the united front and neglect the Communist Party. We would wind up with neither, the united front nor a strong party.

In the course of such struggles, many workers come to respect the work of our party, its sincerity, consistency, and ability—through the individual party members they work with. Our party members must work closely with the most militant workers in the united front. In discussions with such people we should give them literature (like George Marion's book on the Communist trial) and copies of the Daily Worker and The Worker. Also pamphlets on socialism. Such people can be brought into well-organized new members classes. Many can be recruited during the course of such a class.

Steady attention to the most advanced and militant workers, drawing them into discussions and classes, aids these workers in getting the most important lessons from their united-front struggles. In the development of clearer fighters who have a better understanding of the class forces involved, we help to strengthen the united front. Attention, therefore, to the consistent growth of some of the best forces in the united front, to the building of the party, aids in the consolidation of the united front, its advance and further development.

Correct work by the club in building the united front can mean an opportunity for a big advance in building leadership. In our initial approach to the united front in each club, we must get to know our membership better, what organizations they belong to and what kind of assistance we can give them in improving their leadership in united-front work. In some cases we may be surprised how rich are the mass connections of our club members.

All the campaigns of our party must be geared to strengthen our work in the united front.—There will be instances when a section can make a leading contribution in building the united front. For there are some issues that can best be organized, and the broadest forces brought into motion, on a section level.

This does not mean that a club should hold back, or be held back, in building the united front because it is waiting for the section to tackle it. Where the section does not have something under way the initiative of the club should be exercised and encouraged. Then later, if it will strengthen the united front, perhaps the club can help to influence the united front in its neighborhood into a still broader stream developing on a section-wide basis.

However, the basic fact remains—and this is what determines our main approach. The ability to keep the United States out of world war III, and to stop the growth of fascism in the United States will be decided *in each neighborhood and in each shop*. And the way our party clubs help to build the unity of their neighborhoods will determine how widespread and successful will be the people's resistance movement in the United States.

SET OUR SIGHTS ON THE NOVEMBER 1950 ELECTIONS NOW

Every club has a job to do. There is not a single club that cannot contribute to the united front in its particular way. "A party perishes if it shuts itself up in its narrow shell, if it severs itself from the masses" (*History of CPSU*, p. 362). The best form and the best method, that is a problem your club, must decide. Through this type of united-front activity your small club can help to guarantee the defeat of those Wall Street forces that want to drag the United States into world war III.

Helping to stop the Fascist forces in the United States means *working now*, to lay the basis for a broad coalition that can elect progressive Congressmen in the 1950 elections. Our party can be a decisive force in breathing life into such a broad coalition.

Each club of the Communist Party in the United States must give immediate attention to building the united front in the form most suited to it. Build the united front *now*. Give this work consistent attention and leadership in April, May, June, July, August, September, and October and your club will be making a contribution in its own way toward the formation of a broad coalition for the election of a progressive Congress in November 1950.

* * * * *

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Cvetic, I hand you Cvetic exhibit No. 99 and ask if you have any comments to make in regard to this document?

Mr. CVETIC. This document was removed from the desk of Steve Nelson, the district organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. While I do not recollect this document as being distributed while I was working as an undercover agent in the Communist Party, it does deal with the united-front tactics of the Communist Party as set forth in 1935 by the Communist International.

Mr. WHEELER. The next exhibit, entered into the testimony as Cvetic exhibit No. 100, is a letter dated June 7, 1950, addressed to Steve Nelson, Pittsburgh, bearing the signature (typed) of Henry Winston. I would like you to identify this document for the record, Mr. Cvetic. I think it is self-explanatory.⁹

Mr. CVETIC. This letter was removed from the desk of Steve Nelson, and the contents deal with the fund drive of the Communist Party for the western Pennsylvania district.

Mr. WHEELER. The next exhibit, Cvetic exhibit No. 101, is also a letter on the letterhead of the national office of the Communist Party, U. S. A., dated July 6, 1950, addressed to Steve Nelson. I hand it to you, Mr. Cvetic, for identification.

Mr. CVETIC. This letter was also removed from the desk of Steve Nelson, Communist Party organizer for western Pennsylvania, and is signed by Carl Reinstein. The letter is a criticism of the western Pennsylvania district for not meeting its fund drive quota.

Mr. WHEELER. The next document has been entered into our records as Cvetic exhibit No. 102, and it is a similar letter on the letterhead of the national office of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., addressed to Steve Nelson, district 5, western Pennsylvania, bearing date July 7, 1950. Mr. Cvetic, will you review the letter and identify it for the record, and also comment on it?¹⁰

Mr. CVETIC. The letter dated July 7, 1950, addressed to Steve Nelson, was removed from Steve Nelson's desk. It speaks about the Communist Party's peace campaign, and also refers to "open intervention of American imperialism in Korea."

The second paragraph of the letter is especially significant in the light of the recent testimony which I gave this committee with regard to the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, in February 1950, in that since that testimony, this letter indicates that the Communist Party average dues collection for the first 5 months of the year 1950 were only 20 percent; and since dues payments in the Communist Party are a political responsibility, this indicates that the Communist Party membership in western Pennsylvania has suffered considerably since my appearance. In fact, the results have been so effective that at present there are no Communist-front organizations actively operating in western Pennsylvania outside of the International Workers Order; the financial source of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. WHEELER. The next exhibit, entered in the record as Cvetic exhibit No. 103, is also a letter on the stationery of the national office of the Communist Party, United States of America, dated July 28, 1950.¹⁷

⁹ See p. 3136.

¹⁰ See p. 3137.

¹⁷ See p. 3137.

Mr. Cvetic, will you identify it for the record, with any comments you may have?

Mr. CVETIC. The letter is self-explanatory. However, the fact that the national office of the Communist Party is asking for the sum of \$50 for the peace petitions which it sent to the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania proves that the Communist Party was responsible for the printing and distribution of these petitions throughout the United States, even though no petitions carried the name of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Chairman, the next exhibit, entered in our records as Cvetic exhibit No. 104, was received in answer to a subpoena served on Mr. Cvetic, as were all documents referred to in the record today.¹¹

I would like you to review this document, Mr. Cvetic, and make such comments thereon as you may desire.

Mr. CVETIC. This document, which was removed from the desk of Jim Dolsen, the Daily Worker editor for western Pennsylvania, also deals with the Stockholm peace pledge, and must be considered in its entirety. It indicates the real source of this peace petition.

Mr. WHEELER. I now hand you a document entered in our records as Cvetic exhibit No. 105, and ask if you have any comment to make on that?¹²

Mr. CVETIC. This document, which I found in Steve Nelson's desk, is from the Peace Information Center, located at 222 West Twenty-third Street, Hotel Chelsea, New York City 11. It is a Christian appeal with regard to the Stockholm peace petition.

This document, coming from Steve Nelson's desk, is rather odd, because Steve Nelson, while I was working as an undercover agent in the Communist Party, once told me I should go to church to make it look good, but I didn't have to believe any of the "stuff" I heard there.

I would also like to say that this document shows that the Communist Party utilizes all organizations, including religious organizations, to help further their cause.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Cvetic, in reviewing the Communist Party documents which you have previously turned over to this committee, it is my opinion that the Communist Party fails to truthfully advise its members as to the aims and purposes of the Communist Party. The volumes of sworn testimony taken by this committee on the real aims and purposes of the Communist Party are at great variance with the propaganda contained in the documents which you have submitted to us. In the light of your many years as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation within the Communist Party, how would you summarize these documents?

Mr. CVETIC. Mr. Chairman, the propaganda which the Communist Party issues to its members, as well as to the American public, through the Daily Worker and other Communist publications, is comparable to a large department store where a person can purchase everything from drug supplies to farm equipment. I think this is illustrated by the document which has been introduced as Cvetic exhibit No. 93, entitled "The Fundamentals of Marxism." Under Lesson IX, Strat-

¹¹ See p. 3138.

¹² See p. 3141.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

/ and Tactics, you will find that the main characteristics of Leninist strategy and tactics urge Communist Party members to "find main link which will set large numbers of masses into motion and prepare them for final struggle." This, Mr. Chairman, is the main purpose of the Communist Party.

Today, we find the Communist Party of the United States following the initiative of the Soviet Union and the Communist countries of Europe in sponsoring what appears on its face an appeal of people interested in world peace, a democratic and humane peace. However, the peace which the Communist Party sponsors in this country under the auspices of the Peace Information Center and the Labor League for Peace is a peace on the terms sponsored and directed by the Soviet Union. It is a peace which would permit the Communist Party of the United States to support wars when they are of the nature of the attack by the North Koreans on the people of South Korea and would permit the Communist Party to condemn as imperialist aggression the action of the United States in repelling the North Korean attack. A careful review of these documents, Mr. Chairman, shows that the Communist Party considers wars to be just and unjust, depending upon the gains that international communism derives from the outcome. With respect to the petitions circulated by the Peace Information Center and the Labor League for Peace, you find that the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania paid for the petitions which were sent into that area for collection of signatures. It is my understanding that your committee has found that this same condition existed throughout the United States.

Mr. Chairman, from an examination of exhibit 98, entitled "Plan of Work of National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America," you will find that, in connection with the current peace propaganda, it is not only the Peace Information Center and the Labor Conference for Peace which are leading the Communist propaganda in this field, but in addition every Communist is urged to encourage all forces to speak out in every possible way against United States imperialist intervention in Korea. In this document, Communists are instructed by the national committee to urge individual leaders of trade-unions, Negro people's organizations, religious groups, and women, youth, professional, and cultural groups to express themselves in whatever way they choose so long as the end result condemns the United States for its action in Korea, advocates the seating of the Chinese Communists on the United Nations, or promotes the other objectives set forth today by the Communists.

This document further urges Communists to give full support to the efforts of World War II veterans from the Pacific theater in their protest against American intervention in Korea and Asia. Whether this veterans' group has been created or not as yet by the Communists, I do not know, but this document clearly indicates that the Communists propose setting up such an organization to propagandize against the efforts of our country. This document also directs Communists to spread the Communist propaganda with respect to Korea and the seating of the Chinese Communists through community and church activities. One organization of this nature is the Mid-Century Conference of Peaceful Alternatives. Communists are also urged to organize and support a mothers' delegation and a Negro people's delegation to

Washington, D. C., demanding the halting of what the Communists call America's imperialist aggression in Korea.

Mr. Chairman, these documents also contain national committee directives on the establishment of the Labor Youth League, which will be the Communist Party's successor to the American Youth for Democracy. These documents stress the value which the Communists place upon youth. It is through youth that the Communists intend to train their leaders of tomorrow. I certainly hope, Mr. Chairman, that high schools, colleges, and universities will not permit the Labor Youth League to function under their auspices as certain of these educational institutions did in the case of the American Youth for Democracy.

Several of these documents deal with the work in Pittsburgh of a J and L Club and the Homestead Shop Club. These directives, Cvetic exhibits 84 and 85, deal with the organization of Communist clubs within the Jones & Laughlin steel mills in Pittsburgh and the Carnegie steel mills in Homestead, Pa. While the membership in these clubs has greatly decreased since 1947 as a result of the exposure of the true aims of the Communist Party, the documents illustrate the value which the Communist Party places on the infiltration of our basic industries. Every basic industry has been infiltrated by the Communist Party. While their number today, in my opinion, is not large, a serious threat to our country and its security is posed by the presence today of Communist Party members employed in these industries.

Other of these documents, Mr. Chairman, deal with the financial status of the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania and indicate the damage which the Committee on Un-American Activities has caused to the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania through the committee's exposure of the Communist Party and its true aims and objectives. The present low circulation of the Daily Worker clearly reflects the damage which has been done to the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Cvetic, the Chair wishes to thank you for this information and for turning over to the committee these documents, which will prove helpful to the committee in this phase of its investigations.

(Thereupon, the hearing was adjourned.)

×

EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA BASED UPON THE TESTIMONY OF
MATTHEW CVETIC (UNDERCOVER AGENT)

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARING

MORNING SESSION

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, Morgan M. Moulder, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Donald T. Appell and W. Jackson Jones, investigators; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order. Let the record disclose that a quorum is present, consisting of Messrs. Walter, Harrison, Moulder, Velde, and Wood. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Jones.

Mr. Wood. Will you hold up your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the evidence you give this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JONES. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, on February 25, 1950, at 10:35 p. m., a Plymouth coach bearing New York license 7G30-33 struck a safety pylon in Pittsburgh, Pa. The car, driven by Charles Tronick, aged 26, of 734 Hymen Street, Bay Shore, N. Y., had as occupants Adolph Hazel, aged 22, of 105-32 One Hundred and Seventy-second Street, Jamaica, N. Y.; Raymond Shear, aged 21, of 90-19 One Hundred and Forty-eighth Street, Jamaica, N. Y.; Jack Jaffe, aged 19, of 110 Mount Hope Place, Bronx, N. Y.; and Lillian Lewis, aged 22, of 1065 Monteray Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

In this vehicle there were found numerous documents which related to the Labor Youth League of Western Pennsylvania. Also in the car were found a spade and a box of dirt, indicating the possibility of an intention to destroy documents by burning and covering the ashes with dirt. The local police of the city of Pittsburgh impounded the car and the documents that were found in it. As you will recall, a subpoena duces tecum was issued for the purpose of producing the documents that were found in the car. In that connection, I would like to ask Mr. Jones several questions.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM JACKSON JONES

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name?

Mr. JONES. William Jackson Jones.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are an investigator for this committee?

Mr. JONES. I am..

Mr. TAVENNER. A subpoena duces tecum was issued by the chairman for the production of the records taken from the car which was operated as I have just explained on the 25th of February 1950 and which was involved in a wreck in the city of Pittsburgh. Did you serve the subpoena in that case on the chief of police of the city of Pittsburgh?

Mr. JONES. The subpoena was served on February 28, 1950, and I received these documents from Inspector Geizel of the Pittsburgh Police Department.

Mr. TAVENNER. These are the records you obtained as a result of that subpoena?

Mr. JONES. These are the documents that were turned over to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. HARRISON. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. VELDE. I have none.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Cvetic has already been sworn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It will not be necessary to swear him again.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Matthew Cvetic?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I believe you testified before the committee on February 22, 1950?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have testified, I believe, regarding your knowledge of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania and the nationality commission of the Communist Party, both national and local. At the time you testified you presented the committee, in accordance with the subpoena served upon you, documents relating to the American Slav Congress, the Progressive Party, and the Civil Rights Congress. In addition to the documents supplied by you, Mr. Cvetic, the committee has obtained documents from George Dietze, who was a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities last Monday and who, like yourself, was a member of the Communist Party and at the same time an undercover agent of the Federal Government. It is with respect to the documents furnished by you and other documents in the committee's possession, including those which have just been identified by Mr. William Jackson Jones, investigator, that the committee desires to question you.

Mr. Cvetic, one of the documents found in the files of the Labor Youth League which was produced by Mr. Jones is entitled "Draft

Principles," which I desire to offer in evidence and have it marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 2," No. 1 having been introduced in evidence when you testified at an earlier date.

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)¹

Mr. TAVENNER. This document reads in part as follows:

The Labor Youth League works for a peaceful, secure, and happy life for every young American—worker, student, veteran, farmer.

It educates youth in a spirit of devotion to the working people. It bases its program on the proposition that the needs and desires of the youth are bound up inseparably with the immediate and fundamental interests of the working class. It recognizes the working class as the source of progress in the modern world, as the defender of the democratic traditions of our country, as the force capable of assuring lasting peace. Therefore, it stimulates interest in, and study of, Marxism, Leninism, and educates youth in the principles of scientific socialism—the beacon light and historic goal of the working class.

I hand you this document, Mr. Cvetic, and ask you if it is the principles of the organization delivered at the organizational meeting held at the Fort Pitt Hotel during the summer of 1949, as to which you have previously testified, and also ask you to identify the person who presented there principles at the meeting.

Mr. CVETIC. Mr. Chairman, these are the Draft Principles which were presented at the organizational meeting of the Labor Youth League at Pittsburgh by Harold Orzick, the Communist Party youth organizer in western Pennsylvania. This was in the summer of 1949. I think, for clarity, I should point out that there is a difference between Communist-front organizations such as the Labor Youth League and organizations which the Communist Party infiltrates, like trade-unions. The Labor Youth League was a front organization set up specifically by the Communist Party for the purpose of being the Communist Party instrument in the colleges, high schools, and so forth, to stimulate interest in the study of Marxism and Leninism.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Tavenner asked you who presented the principles contained in that document at the meeting.

Mr. WOOD. He named him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the witness stated the name. Will you state it again?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Harold Orzick, the Communist Party youth organizer for western Pennsylvania.

Mr. MOULDER. I didn't hear that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a document entitled "Program of Action of the Komsomol" and ask you to fully identify this document and explain to the committee its use as related to the activities of the Labor Youth League.

Before you answer the question, I desire to offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 3," is filed herewith.)²

Mr. CVETIC. This document, which is the address of J. V. Stalin to the Eighth Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet

¹ See appendix.

² See appendix.

Union, was issued by the education department, New York Organizing Committee for a Labor Youth League, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. This document, which is a speech by J. V. Stalin, stresses the importance of the international Communist youth movement. The Komsomol, K-o-m-s-o-m-o-l, is the name by which the international youth organization is known in Communist circles. This document was issued by the education department. It is used in educational work in the Labor Youth League more or less as the principles of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Knowing the organization of this youth movement as you do, can you state whether or not documents similar to this were distributed among all of the local organizations of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This particular document is limited to the chief organizers. It is not for general distribution to the membership. In other words, this particular document is limited to the western Pennsylvania organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you another document entitled "Building the Labor Youth League, a Guide for Club Membership Directors" and ask you to outline the methods of recruiting as shown in this publication, which I offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 4," is filed herewith.)³

Mr. CVETIC. Recruiting for the Labor Youth League is usually carried on under a subterfuge. For example, Communist Party organizers are assigned to universities, colleges, and high schools to carry the party line. In some of their work they do distribute literature, but their work in recruiting is to find, as a result of the distribution of this literature, the youth who may show some sympathy for the Communist propaganda which they distribute. Of course they don't immediately ask them to join the Communist Party, but they organize dances, bowling leagues, church socials, and so on. They don't organize them, but attend them and organize small groups and bring the youth closer to the Communist Party. After several contacts they may invite them to an open meeting of the party, where the party line is watered down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Lillian Lewis, one of the occupants of the automobile that was involved in the accident of February 25, 1950?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Lillian Lewis is a member of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania and the organizational secretary of the Labor Youth League in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I now offer in evidence a receipt showing the sale of stamps to the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Local 623, 401 Federal Street, Pittsburgh 12, Pa., dated February 24, 1950, which was among the personal effects of Lillian Lewis found in the wrecked automobile, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 5."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 5," is filed herewith.)⁴

³ See appendix.

⁴ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, the committee has several documents which refer to a membership meeting, district conference of Labor Youth League of western Pennsylvania. One document is a throw-away announcing the meeting, signed by Lilly Lewis as organizational secretary. I desire to offer this in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 6."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 6," is filed herewith.) ⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. Another is a speech which was apparently made at this meeting by Lilly Lewis, which I offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 7."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 7," is filed herewith.) ⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. The last document appears to be the minutes of the meeting held on February 12, 1950, which minutes reflect that the meeting was opened at 12:30 p. m. by "Sonny." I desire to offer this document in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 8."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 8," is filed herewith.) ⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the person referred to in "Cvetic Exhibit No. 8" as "Sonny"?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I attended meetings of the Labor Youth League. "Sonny" is the nickname of Harold Orzick, who is the Communist Party youth organizer in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. The "Sonny" to whom you refer holds what position in the Labor Youth League?

Mr. CVETIC. When I was in Pittsburgh, Sonny Orzick was the organizer in the Labor Youth League. I understand since I left Pittsburgh he has become in disfavor in Pittsburgh and he has been replaced since this February 12 meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. The minutes of the meeting of February 12, 1950, as shown by Cvetic Exhibit No. 8, reflect that a total of 17 people attended, representing the areas of Hill, South Side, McKeesport, and one National Labor Youth League and one fraternal representative of the Communist Party. A person whose name is referred to as "Jerry," according to these minutes, was elected chairman, and a person referred to as "Bernie" was named recording secretary. Could you identify for the committee the true names of "Jerry," the chairman, and "Bernie," the recording secretary?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. "Jerry" in the Labor Youth League is Jerry Grushka. "Bernie" is Bernie Silas from McKeesport. I might add here that I know both of these people to be members of the Communist Party, because I attended Communist Party functionary meetings with them in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. There were other members elected to the organizing committee, shown by this report as Herbert "W." Ed Nixon, and Ruth "G." Do you know the full names of these individuals?

⁵ See appendix.

⁶ See appendix.

⁷ See appendix.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Herbert "W." would be Herbert Walker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; he is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. CVETIC. Because I attended Communist Party functionary meetings with Herbert Walker. And Ruth "G." would be Ruth Goldworth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reference is made to Ed Nixon. Is he, to your knowledge, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended Communist Party functionary meetings with Ed Nixon.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Ed Nixon his full name?

Mr. CVETIC. His full name is Edwin Nixon.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know Ruth Goldworth is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended Communist Party functionary meetings with Ruth Goldworth.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a copy of a publication entitled "Challenge" and ask you to identify it.

Mr. CVETIC. This is the official publication of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the date of the issue?

Mr. CVETIC. March 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the first issue of the publication?

Mr. CVETIC. This is the first issue. This is a new publication.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 9."

Mr. WOOD. I understand that is the first issue of this publication of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted, without objection.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 9," is filed herewith.)^s

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at that publication again and state to the committee what books are recommended in this issue for reading by the members of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. CVETIC. Here are some of the books which are recommended in this publication for reading, under the caption: "These Books: Push Back Horizons; Change the World; Transform People."

The Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels.

The Young Generation, by V. I. Lenin.

Tasks of the Youth, by Joseph Stalin.

Dialectical and Historical Materialism, by Joseph Stalin.

Literature of the Graveyard, by Roger Garudy.

Intellectuals in the Fight for Peace, by Howard Fast.

^s See appendix.

The Negro People and the Soviet Union, by Paul Robeson.

The Citizen Writer, by Albert Maltz.

These are some of the books that are listed here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, all these documents are among those identified by Mr. Jones as having been produced, in response to the subpoena duces tecum, by the Pittsburgh Police Department.

Mr. Cvetic, I show you another document obtained from the wrecked automobile, which is a membership break-down of the Labor Youth League as of December 5, 1949, prepared by the National Organizing Conference of the Labor Youth League, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., which I offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 10."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted, without objection.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 10," is filed herewith.)⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that document and state what the break-down shows for western Pennsylvania and eastern Pennsylvania?

Mr. CVETIC. This document, which is entitled "Membership List of the National Organizing Conference of the Labor Youth League," is broken down to show number employed, college unemployed, high school, and total. For eastern Pennsylvania there is no break-down, but a total of 143 members is shown. For western Pennsylvania a total membership of 43 is shown, broken down as follows: Employed, 20; college, 9; unemployed, 12; high school, 2.

This document also shows the break-down of membership of the Labor Youth League on the west coast and other States.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee that break-down?

Mr. CVETIC. California, Alameda County, total membership 66, broken down as follows: Employed, 21; college, 7; unemployed, 19; high school, 19.

California, Los Angeles, total 467 members, broken down as follows: Employed, 151; college, 96; unemployed, 159; high school, 61.

California, San Francisco, total 86, no break-down.

Connecticut, total membership 84, broken down as follows: Employed, 37; college, 17; unemployed, 25; high school, 5.

Illinois, total membership 256, broken down as follows: Employed, 123; college, 60; unemployed, 53; high school, 20.

Indiana, a total of 10 members, with no break-down.

Massachusetts, total of 101 members: Employed, 44; college students, 22; unemployed, 32; high-school students, 3.

Michigan, total of 159 members: Employed, 88; college students, 24; unemployed, 42; high-school students, 5.

New Jersey, total membership of 153, broken down as follows: Employed, 64; college students, 15; unemployed, 60; high-school students, 14.

New York, total members 2,014: Employed, 847; college students, 396; unemployed, 561; high-school students, 210.

Ohio, 187 total membership, broken down as follows: Employed, 79; college, 20; unemployed, 72; high school, 16.

Texas, total membership 18: Employed, 4; college, 10; unemployed, 4; high school, none.

⁹ See appendix.

Washington, D. C., total membership 58: Employed, 35; college, 16; unemployed, 7; high school, none.

The total as of December 5, 1949, 3,660 members.

I would like to add here that from my information and contacts with the Labor Youth League, many of these people listed unemployed are used as part time paid functionaries by the Labor Youth League. For example, they sent a number in the coal area 2 or 3 weeks ago, and they are subsidized for their food and keep, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the membership figures just quoted by Mr. Cvetic are shown to be as of December 5, 1949. I have also a statement which is undated, but which could not have been prepared later than the middle of February 1950, which shows a substantial increase in that membership, which I desire to offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 11."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted, without objection.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 11," is filed herewith.¹⁰)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will not attempt to read the entire statistical break-down, but will state that the total membership shown is 5,879 as against 3,660 on December 5, 1949. For the information of the committee, I would like to make a comparison between these two reports, setting forth the increases only in membership in colleges and high schools.

In Alameda County, Calif., the December report shows 7 college students and 19 high-school students. The increase since then is 43 college students and 4 high-school students.

In Los Angeles, Calif., the increase is 9 college students and 14 high-school students.

In San Francisco, Calif., the increase is one high-school student.

In Connecticut the increase is one college student.

In Illinois the increase is seven college students.

In Massachusetts the increase is one college student and two high-school students.

In Michigan the increase is one college student and four high-school students.

In New Jersey the increase is two college students and two high-school students.

In New York the increase is 337 college students and 168 high-school students.

In Ohio the increase is four college students and five high-school students.

And in Texas the increase is three college students.

On the December 5 list no break-down was given for eastern Pennsylvania. The later report shows for eastern Pennsylvania 54 college students and 12 high-school students.

The later report also includes the State of Utah with two college students, and the State of Wisconsin with three college students and two high-school students.

Mr. Cvetic, I hand you a document prepared by the National Organizing Conference of the Labor Youth League as of December 5, 1949, which is a financial statement of its \$50,000 organizing fund drive, which I offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 12."

¹⁰ See appendix.

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 12," is filed herewith.) ¹¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that report and state what the status of the fund drive was reported to be for western and eastern Pennsylvania?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The quota in the national fund drive as of December 5, 1949, for eastern Pennsylvania was \$4,000; the quota to the national office being \$1,600. In other words, the report designates that of the \$4,000 quota, \$1,600 was to go to the national office. Of that quota of \$4,000, eastern Pennsylvania, up to December 5, 1949, raised \$300.

Western Pennsylvania had a quota of \$800; quota to national office, \$200; and up to December 5, 1949, raised \$62.22.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the break-down of the allocation to the various States and the amounts contributed to this fund as shown by this report?

Mr. CVETIC. California, Los Angeles: Quota, \$6,000; quota to national office, \$2,400; total raised to date, \$1,418.15; total sent to national office, \$567.26.

Connecticut: Quota, \$2,000; quota to national office, \$800; total raised to date, \$308; total sent to national office, \$15.

Michigan: Quota, \$3,000; quota to national office, \$1,200; total raised to date, \$1,211; total sent to national office, \$350.

Minnesota: Quota, \$1,000; quota to national office, \$400; total raised to date, \$79.60; total sent to national office, \$31.84.

New Jersey: Quota, \$2,500; quota to national office, \$1,000; total raised to date, \$683.25; total sent to national office, \$273.30.

New York: Quota, \$30,000; quota to national office, \$10,000; total raised to date, \$30,000; total sent to national office, \$10,000.

Ohio: Quota, \$3,000; quota to national office, \$1,200; total raised to date, \$429; total sent to national office, \$120.

Washington, D. C.: No quotas listed, but they sent \$15.95 to the national office.

Listed here also are Alameda, Calif.; San Francisco, Calif.; and the State of Illinois, with no quotas and no results posted on this report.

The total sent to the national office in the \$50,000 fund drive is \$11,735.57.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, that figure is not the total amount raised, but the amount sent to the national office?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What amount does the report show was raised?

Mr. CVETIC. \$34,507.17, of which \$11,735.57 went to the national \$50,000 organizing fund drive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, during the week of February 12, 1950, the United States nationally observed Brotherhood Week. The National Organizing Conference for the Labor Youth League also ordered its State organizations to stage a Negro History Week celebration. In this connection I desire to offer in evidence a letter relating to this matter, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 13."

Mr. Wood. Without objection it will be admitted.

¹¹ See appendix.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 13," is filed herewith.¹²)

Mr. TAVENNER. The Labor Youth League files which are in the committee's possession contain material sent to Pittsburgh by the national organization for this purpose. One mimeographed outline, entitled "How to Run a Model Meeting Around Negro History Week," is available to us, and I desire to offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 14."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 14," is filed herewith.)¹³

Mr. TAVENNER. This "Cvetic Exhibit No. 14," in addition to constituting a general outline for a meeting, contains questions and answers in the form of a quiz. I would like to quote a few questions and answers from this outline in order to show that the Labor Youth League is nothing but the publicity agent for the Communist Party. One question reads:

What political party nominated a Negro for Vice President in the thirties? The answer being:

The Communist Party nominated James W. Ford on its 1932 ticket, with William Z. Foster as presidential candidate.

Another question reads:

What constitution makes it a crime to favor any inequality against any people?

Answer:

The Constitution of the U. S. S. R.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, the committee heard Mr. Cvetic last week quote from the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. on its advocacy of the forceful overthrow of capitalism.

This same questionnaire is used as an attack on the CIO. For example, this question is asked:

Are there any Negroes in the top CIO Executive Board?

Answer:

No. Ever since the removal of Ferdinand Smith from the National Maritime Union no Negro sits on the top CIO Executive Board.

Another question reads:

What strange sight can be seen in the southern organizing drive's headquarters of the CIO in Tennessee?

Answer:

Jim Crow signs labeled "Colored" and "White."

In this latter connection, Mr. Chairman, I should like to refer back to "Dietze Exhibit No. 1" introduced in evidence when he testified. This exhibit was his Communist Party membership book for the year 1944, and it designates whether the individual is white or Negro, which is the same thing that they accuse the CIO of doing in Tennessee.

¹² See appendix.

¹³ See appendix.

Dealing further with the Negro question, the Labor Youth League files contain a memorandum, entitled "Struggle for the Rights of the Negro People," which I desire to offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 15."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 15," is filed herewith.) ¹⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. This memorandum was addressed "To All Districts" and is signed by Benjamin J. Davis, chairman, and Pettis Perry, secretary, National Negro Commission.

Mr. Cvetic, is the National Negro Commission a commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; it is. The Communist Party has a National Negro Commission functioning in the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Benjamin J. Davis the chairman of that Commission?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have a document here entitled "Struggle for the Rights of the Negro People," which was circulated among the members of the Labor Youth League, signed by the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party. Is the Benjamin J. Davis whose name appears on this document as chairman of the National Negro Commission the same person who was recently found guilty in a Federal court for conspiring to forcefully overthrow the Government of the United States?

Mr. CVETIC. I know Benjamin J. Davis very well, having attended Communist Party meetings with him. He is the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the same subject, Mr. Chairman, there is a memorandum from the national office of the Labor Youth League to all State Labor Youth League organizations on books and pamphlets, which I desire to offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 16."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 16," is filed herewith.) ¹⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. This memorandum refers the State organizations to the back cover of the January 1950 issue of Political Affairs for some very important and basic works of interest to all league members. Political Affairs is an official publication of the Communist Party of the United States. In addition to the books and pamphlets listed on the back cover of the January 1950 issue of Political Affairs, the memorandum also recommends Marxism and the Racial Question, by Joseph Stalin, and The Path of Negro Liberation, by Benjamin J. Davis. Other recommended books are by such authors as Harry Haywood, Herbert Aptheker, James S. Allen, Elwood Dean, Philip Foner, Earl Conrad, and Elizabeth Lawson.

Mr. Cvetic, in Budapest, Hungary, in September 1949, there was held the Second Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. I have here a document obtained from the same sources entitled "Manifesto and Resolution of the Second Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth," which I desire to offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 17."

¹⁴ See appendix.

¹⁵ See appendix.

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted, without objection.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 17," is filed herewith.¹⁶)

Mr. TAVENNER. In the files which you turned over to the committee there appear ballots sponsored by the Western Pennsylvania Youth Committee for Peace for the selection of a delegate to the Budapest conference, which show the contestants for selection as delegate. These contestants are shown as Peggy Russinko, Ann Perpich, and Jean Vidmar. I desire to offer these ballots in evidence, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 18."

Mr. WOOD. They will be admitted.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 18," are filed herewith.)¹⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, will you outline to the committee any knowledge you have of the arrangement and selection of a delegate to the Budapest conference of the World Federation of Democratic Youth? In other words, was it a real contest for selection by the party's participation in it, or not?

Mr. CVETIC. I will gladly tell the committee about this particular campaign, because I think it is very interesting. First, the three people listed on this document are members of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. I have attended many Communist Party meetings with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do their pictures appear as contestants for delegate to the Budapest conference?

Mr. CVETIC. Their pictures appear as applicants, applicants 1, 2, and 3. The way this campaign was organized, I think would be of interest to the committee to show how the Communist Party organizes campaigns and sometimes fools the American people. This particular campaign took 2 months to set up. The delegate was selected by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania about 2 months before the campaign got under way.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long?

Mr. CVETIC. Two months. We held two or three meetings of the nationality commission of the Communist Party and went over prospective candidates on the basis of Communist Party understanding; in other words, who would be best able to come back to the United States and bring back here what she saw from our viewpoint. The person who was selected long before this was prepared and before any ballots were sent to the organization was candidate No. 2, Ann Perpich. Ann Perpich, for the information of this committee, was employed in the Progressive Party office as administrative secretary. She was also employed at the Language Press at 1916 East Street; and up until the Stalin-Tito break she was employed at the Yugoslav Embassy at Washington, D. C. A total of \$600 or \$700 was raised with this balloting and was instrumental in financing the trip of this delegate who was selected by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, and irrespective of how the balloting went. I mean, we didn't even count ballots; we just turned the money over to her to go to Budapest.

¹⁶ See appendix.

¹⁷ See appendix.

Mr. WOOD. In other words, as I understand, the other candidates listed here were pure dummies?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. It was a phony campaign from the start, just as the phony peace drives.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, members who thought they were voting for candidates for delegate actually were not voting for them at all?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. It was a money-raising function to raise funds to send a delegate selected by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania to Budapest.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you said the three candidates whose names appear on the ballots are all known to you as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Also included in the files of the Labor Youth League was a checkbook which I desire to offer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 19."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 19," is filed herewith.)¹⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. This is a checkbook which purports to belong to Harold Orzick, whom you have identified as organizing chairman of the Labor Youth League in Pittsburgh, Pa., I believe?

Mr. CVETIC. He was the Communist Party youth organizer in western Pennsylvania, and up until I left Pittsburgh he was organizer of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you this checkbook and ask you to identify the entries contained therein.

(Representative Moulder leaves hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. This is a checkbook of the Peoples First National Bank & Trust Co. in account with Harold Orzick, account No. 1771.

There is an entry on June 28, 1949, "Pay to Ed Nixon, \$10."

Check No. 3, August 12, 1949, "Pay to LYL"—Labor Youth League—" \$18.22 for fund drive."

Mr. TAVENNER. Ed Nixon is a person you have already identified as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I have.

Check No. 4, "Pay to LYL, \$44 for fund drive."

Check No. 7, "Pay to Sonny," which is the alias of Harold Orzick, "\$30 for a trip," destination of the trip not stated.

Check No. 8, dated October 5, 1949, "Pay to Sonny" again, in amount of \$30, for another trip, destination of trip not stated.

Check No. 9, October 13, 1949, "Pay to Lillie," the alias of Lillian Lewis, "\$2.84 for rental of post-office box."

Check No. 11, dated October 22, 1949, "Pay to George Dietze, \$2 for rent for classes, 943 Liberty Avenue," which was the meeting place of the Communist Party where classes were held.

Mr. HARRISON. Dietze is the witness who testified here the other day?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. Check No. 13, "Pay to Sonny, for expenses to Cleveland, \$5." This is dated October 24, 1949.

¹⁸ See appendix.

Check No. 14, November 3, 1949, "Pay to Lillie, for expenses to South Side and speaker for October 30, 1949, \$4."

Check No. 15, November 4, 1949, "Pay to George Dietze, for rent for meetings and classes," and the dates are October 30, 1949, and another date which looks like November 4, 1949; total \$3.

Check No. 16, dated November 11, 1949, "Pay to Ruth Williams, 30 percent of \$19 for fund drive, South Side, \$5.70."

Check No. 17, dated November 17, 1949, "Pay to William Albertson"—and, Mr. Chairman, I testified earlier that William Albertson is district secretray of the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania—" \$11.40."

Check No. 18, dated November 22, 1949, "Payable to cash, for Sonny, expenses for trip to Johnstown, November 21, 1949, \$6.35."

And there is one signed check.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a brown stenographic notebook which was contained in the files of the Labor Youth League obtained under subpoena as mentioned before, which I desire to offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 20."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 20," is filed herewith.)¹⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that book and see if you can identify the persons whose names appear therein. Are the persons whose names appear therein known to you?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I see several names on the third page.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you able to identify any persons whose names are contained in that book as persons who attended Communist Party functionary meetings with you and who are known by you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I see several names here of persons I can testify to as attending Communist Party functionary meetings with me. I can start on the inside cover. There is an entry UE with the name Mugford. In Pittsburgh, I attended a Communist Party class with Walter Mugford, who was a Communist Party organizer in UE. This was a Communist Party class.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mr. CVETIC. January, February, and March 1949. The class was held at 440 Wood Street, on the third floor.

Then there is Becky Horowitz listed in this book, who is also a member of the Communist Party.

I read these names on the basis of Communist Party membership and with whom I have attended Communist Party functionary meetings:

Hy Schlessinger, a Communist Party member;

Alex Steinberg, a Communist Party member;

Martha Hubscher, a Communist Party member, whose maiden name was Novak;

Nick Lazaris, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, whom I previously identified as a member of the Communist Party;

Allen Thomas, Communist Party organizer in the Crucible Steel Co., Pittsburgh;

Viola—I know a Viola Schmidt active in the Labor Youth League who was a member of the Communist Party;

¹⁹ See appendix.

Glickman—I know a Herbert Glickman. He was a Communist Party organizer in Washington County until a couple years ago; then they sent him to Pittsburgh.

Mr. Chairman, those are all the names I identify in this exhibit.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you a green stenographic notebook which was contained in the same files. I desire to offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 21."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 21," is filed herewith.)²⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it, please, and see if you can identify any names appearing in it of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

(Representative Harrison leaves hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. I see the names of several persons I can testify attended Communist Party functionary meetings with me. The organizing committee is listed in first names.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to mention all of these.

(Representative Walter leaves hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. The organizing committee for Hill: Ruth, Herb, Eddie. Ruth was Ruth Goldworth. Herb was Herbert Walker. Eddie was Ed Nixon.

Jerry Grushka. I know him to be a Communist Party member. His wife, Lila, is not listed here, but she is also a party member.

Jack Begler, 1551 Dennison Street, is also a Communist Party organizer.

Ida Bortz is also a member of the Communist Party. She is the wife of Lou Bortz, who was identified by me 2 weeks ago as being a Communist Party member.

Ruth Kish, a Communist Party member.

Joe Mankin, a Communist Party member; and his wife, Agnes Mankin, is also a Communist Party member.

Herb Glickman, a Communist Party member.

Alex Steinberg, a Communist Party member.

(Representative Walter returns to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you a list which purports to be names and addresses of Labor Youth League members in western Pennsylvania, which was likewise obtained from the wrecked automobile. I ask you to review this list and advise the committee whether or not you can identify any of the names as persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party, and, if so, state who they are. First, I desire to offer this document in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 22."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 22," is filed herewith.)²¹

(Representative Velde leaves hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. The following people on this list of Labor Youth League members are members of the Communist Party and take an active part in Communist Party work: Ann Perpich, Peggy Russinko,

²⁰ See appendix.

²¹ See appendix.

Evelyn Abelson, Ida M. Lewis, Edwin F. Nixon, Lillian B. Lewis—I previously mentioned her as organizational secretary of the Labor Youth League of western Pennsylvania; Ruth Goldworth, and Peter Albertson, who is the son of William Albertson, the district secretary of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

(Representative Harrison returns to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, the Labor Youth League files contain a form which reflects that Helen Kompus, of 510 North Negley Avenue, Pittsburgh, offered accommodations for one New York Labor Youth League member who was sent to Pittsburgh to work in mining. Will you identify Helen Kompus for the committee?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Helen Kompus is a member of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' cell of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. When I was a member of the same section, though not the same cell, I attended many Communist Party meetings with Helen Kompus.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this form in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 23."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 23," is filed herewith.)²²

Mr. CVETIC. She is employed at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, in reviewing the files turned over to the committee, together with notes and memoranda which you might have in your possession, are you at this time able to identify any other members of the Communist Party who are also members of the Labor Youth League; that is, persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Esther Bliss is a member of the Labor Youth League and is also active in YPA.

Pearl Griffin is office secretary in the Progressive Party of western Pennsylvania and also active in YPA; that is, the Youth Progressives.

Eben Matles—

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the first name?

Mr. CVETIC. E-b-e-n M-a-t-l-e-s. I have known him to be a Communist Party member active in youth work around the University of Pittsburgh. His wife, Maxine Matles, is employed as office secretary in the Communist of Western Pennsylvania.

I think that covers the known Communist Party members, as far as I am concerned, in the Labor Youth League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire at this time to offer in evidence as one batch other papers and documents which were obtained in response to the subpoena duces tecum to which we referred, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 24" and that they be bound so that we can ascertain what is contained in that batch of papers.

Mr. Wood. Let them be admitted.

(The papers above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 24," are filed herewith.)²³

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this concludes the documentary evidence that we desired to introduce relating to the Labor Youth League.

²² See appendix.

²³ See appendix.

We would like now to proceed to the Civil Rights Congress documents which the committee has available.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, you have turned over to the committee and have previously identified certain documents of the Civil Rights Congress, have you not?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately when and under what circumstances was the Civil Rights Congress formed in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. The Civil Rights Congress of Pittsburgh was formed about 5 years ago in the office of Hy Schlessinger. This Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh was organized at the request of the district organizer of the Communist Party. He called a meeting, to which he invited Tom Quinn, Communist Party member in UE; he invited myself as one of the leaders in the Slav groups; Pete Karpa, Communist Party organizer who invited me to this meeting, attended the meeting; and Hyman Schlessinger attended the meeting. There were four or five of us. They are the ones I can remember. Pete Karpa made some of the reports and Hy Schlessinger made some, stressing the importance of setting up a Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh.

At this meeting we went over the Communist Party membership in western Pennsylvania for the purpose of deciding which Communist Party members would be assigned to work in the Civil Rights Congress. This was the framework pattern used by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania in setting up the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not true that on May 27, 1948, an open hearing on civil rights was held in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been found in the data you have made available to the committee a letter in the files of the Civil Rights Congress dated April 24, 1948, which contains the names of the publicity committee. I desire to offer this letter in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 25."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 25," is filed herewith.)²⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at that letter and state to the committee the names of those selected for the publicity committee?

Mr. CVETIC. Those selected to serve on the publicity committee were: Bernice Hecker; Marian Wallace; Dr. Barron; myself; Dorothy Albert; and Chester Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify any of those as persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Of these names I know Dorothy Albert to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many people attended this meeting of May 27, 1948, as nearly as you can recall?

Mr. CVETIC. About 200.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have asked this question in order to bring out that on the following day a wire was sent to Senator Wiley, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which I now desire to introduce in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 26."

²⁴ See appendix.

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 26," is filed herewith.) ²⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. The wire reads as follows:

MAY 28, 1948.

SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY,
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

One thousand persons meeting Friday evening Wesley Center AME Zion Church unanimously scored Mundt-Nixon bill as exceedingly dangerous to American democracy. Call upon you to defeat bill in committee.

PITTSBURGH CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS,
THOMAS QUINN, Chairman,
MIRIAM B. SCHULTZ, Acting Secretary.

Mr. Cvetic, I now hand you a copy of a communication to Senator Wiley, also dated May 28, 1948, which I offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 27."

Mr. Wood. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 27," is filed herewith.) ²⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please read this communication to Senator Wiley and identify the signers of the petition whom you know to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Ben Arshan.

Mr. TAVENNER. First will you read the contents of the petition to Senator Wiley.

Mr. CVETIC. This petition, which contains about 50 signatures, is addressed to Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Mundt-Nixon bill undermines American democratic principles. Its parallel to German Nazi legislation is alarming. Imperative defend Bill of Rights; defeat Mundt bill in committee.

It is signed by about 50 people, of whom the following are Communist Party members:

- Ben Arshan, who is a doctor, an optometrist;
- Frances Dewey Begler, the wife of Jack Begler;
- Alma Robinson, the wife of Joseph "Sonny" Robinson;
- Ben Careathers, Communist Party organizer in western Pennsylvania;
- Dorothy Albert;
- Miss Pauline Slome, S-l-o-m-e;
- Esther Bliss, whom I have previously identified as a Communist Party youth organizer;
- Mark P. Lovett, North Side, Pittsburgh;
- Alex Staber, a former Communist Party steel organizer recently transferred to United Electrical Workers;
- Pauline Grant, maiden name Anomi, the wife of Dave Grant, former city secretary of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh and now an organizer in UE;
- Rebecca Horowitz, who lives in Hazelwood, previously identified as Becky Horowitz, a member of the Communist Party;
- Nathan Albert, Communist Party organizer in UE;

²⁵ See appendix.

²⁶ See appendix.

Regina Bakowski, who is now married and her married name is Rudiak, the wife of Joseph Rudiak, chairman of the American Slav Congress of western Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman, these are all the Communist Party members I can identify on this list.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you four petitions which you presented as part of these records and have previously identified, being petitions against the passage of the Mundt-Nixon bill which were circulated by the Civil Rights Congress of Pittsburgh, and ask you to identify those whose names appear on these petitions whom you know to be members of the Communist Party. First, I desire to offer the four petitions as one exhibit, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 28."

Mr. WOOD. They will be admitted.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 28," are filed herewith.)²⁷

Mr. CVETIC. This petition, which is headed "It's called the subversive Control Act of 1948 * * * But it is itself subversive!" and goes on to explain why it is subversive, and then states:

We, the undersigned, believing in the democratic traditions and practices of our country, do reject any bill which would accomplish the destruction of the Bill of Rights and the overthrow of American democratic government. We reject H. R. 5852 as a measure which would establish fascism in the United States.

We wish to support with our contributions below the fight which the Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress is making against this police-state measure.

These were very broadly distributed. These are just a few that got in my hands. I can identify as members of the Communist Party the following, whose names appears on these lists:

Nathan Albert, youth organizer for the Communist Party;

Joe Chuplis, from Springdale, Pa., who is an old Communist Party member with whom I have attended many Communist Party meetings;

Rose Mazur, Springdale, Pa., active in IWO;

Pete Pradelli, also from Springdale, Pa.;

Louise Benjoies, B-e-n-j-o-i-e-s; that name is also spelled B-e-n-j-o-y-a; she is a Communist Party member sent to Pittsburgh to work in the Progressive Party during the Wallace campaign. She since has returned to New York, I understand.

This is only a small part of this particular campaign. This campaign was organized within the Civil Rights Congress by Roy Hudson, myself, and Miriam Schultz and others. All Civil Rights Congress activities in western Pennsylvania were organized by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania in meetings held in the offices of the American Slav Congress, Communist Party headquarters in the Bake-well Building, or in one of the restaurants. One favorite place was Tambellini's on Fourth Avenue. We would discuss campaigns and take the program of the Civil Rights Congress meetings. Since Roy Hudson left, Steve Nelson and William Albertson have been organizing Civil Rights Congress activities in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. HARRISON. Who wrote the language?

Mr. CVETIC. We would sit down in the American Slav Congress and decide to have such a campaign. Steve Nelson, or Roy Hudson when he was in Pittsburgh, would stress the importance of the campaign and he would give the political language.

Mr. HARRISON. Who is "he"?

²⁷ See appendix.

Mr. CVETIC. The district organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. He would tell us what to put in. He wouldn't do the actual writing, but he would hand down the line, and Miriam Schultz, who was secretary at that time and who is a Communist Party member, would prepare such a document. More recently Milo Mamula, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, has been meeting almost daily with Steve Nelson. They sit down and discuss and get out these campaigns. It is all done by the Communist Party. I think I testified here before, some of these committees, for example, the Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh has come to the sad state of being three or four Communist Party members, because the people have caught on to them.

Mr. HARRISON. What they will probably do now is organize another front?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. They try to get clergy and others in their fronts.

Mr. HARRISON. They have been fairly successful at that?

Mr. CVETIC. Up until now they have; yes. I think I testified I was a member of a labor press committee, and to this committee we only assigned two Communist Party members, myself and one more, and we were able to organize picnics for 1,000 people.

Mr. HARRISON. How do you get the names to organize the fronts?

Mr. CVETIC. Steve Nelson or Roy Hudson would make a list of people to invite. We would call them up or visit them and represent ourselves as citizens committees. You can go to anybody and tell them you are starting a peace campaign; everybody is for peace. We would sit down and say: "Let's make a list of names." We would set up a peace committee against the war makers. A person who may be unsuspecting and who doesn't know the real program will lend his name to a peace movement. If you set yourself up good before you visit him and know a little bit about him, you know how to talk to him. You taught this in party discussions. You don't just walk up to this reverend or this doctor. You find out what to tell them. We even decide who should visit him to get the best results.

In the peace drive which they are organizing, that is a real phony. You don't have to tell them about our real program. Get a couple ministers to outlaw the atom bomb, and tell them to call on President Truman. But in the meantime, in classes and discussions, the study of Marxism and Leninism never stops. Even in 1944 and 1945, when we were allies, it never stopped. It really surprised me when I first got into the movement. We were singing songs like The Yanks Are Not Coming when Hitler and Stalin had a pact, and when the pact was broken they sang the same song but took the "Not" out. You have to be a "ghandi dancer" to keep up with the party line. It might change three times a day.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, with respect to the Civil Rights Congress meeting held on May 27, 1948, the files contain a break-down on contributions received and expenses incurred in connection with this meeting. The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers contributed \$100 toward this meeting, in the form of \$50 from district 6 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, and \$50 from local 610 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, Pittsburgh.

Mr. Cvetic, what use was made of the offices of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, if any, by the Communist Party or Communist-front organizations with which you were connected?

Mr. CVETIC. We used the district office, which was located in the Wabash Building, while I was active both in the American Slav Congress and the Civil Rights Congress and in the Communist Party, for three or four reasons. First of all, through Tom Fitzpatrick and Tom Quinn and Jack Sartisky we were able to get UE to pass resolutions on any issues in which we were interested. And if we had large mimeograph jobs to do for the Communist Party or for the Civil Rights Congress or maybe for a campaign in the steel mills, we would go to the Wabash Building and turn them out on a mimeograph machine down there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that mean a mimeograph machine owned by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, by the district office. I went down there and helped run some off. While I have no knowledge of approaching UE directly for contributions to the Communist Party, we would sit down and discuss, if the Civil Rights Congress needed money for a campaign, and Steve Nelson or Roy Hudson would tell Miriam: "Call Tom Fitzpatrick and see if you can get \$50 or \$100." And usually it came through. We got contributions for the American Slav Congress in the same way, just by contacting Tom Fitzpatrick.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would any official of UE be contacted before making arrangements to print your material on their machines?

Mr. CVETIC. Usually I would call Tom Quinn or Jack Sartisky and say I was coming down to run off a job. There was never any objection. Many times they would help.

Mr. WALTER. And these contributions came from dues collected from all members of the union?

Mr. CVETIC. I presume so. They came from the funds of the district UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. The files of the Civil Rights Congress show that with the indictment of the 12 Communist leaders for conspiring to overthrow the United States by force and violence, the Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress increased its activity. The Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress received in October 1948 an important notice of a proposed telegram campaign. I desire to introduce in evidence a mimeograph of that notice, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 29."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 29," is filed herewith.)²⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. To show one of their methods of influencing public opinion, I would like to read it:

[From Civil Rights Congress, room 1613, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.]

IMPORTANT NOTICE

TELEGRAM CAMPAIGN

On October 14, the day before the trial starts, hundreds of thousands of telegrams MUST be sent to Attorney General Tom Clark, from all over the country, demanding that the indictments against the 12 Communist Party leaders be dropped.

²⁸ See appendix.

It is important that you try to find out approximately how many telegrams were sent from your community to Clark on October 14. Please let our public relations director, Kevin Mullen, know immediately, because this information will be valuable press news.

Also, if possible, let us know the names of some of the OUTSTANDING PEOPLE in your community, who sent the telegrams.

We are calling these things to your attention, so that we, in the national office, will be able to give you the best available help that we possibly can. Please reply as quickly as possible.

The success of their program to obtain outstanding people is reflected by a release from the national office of the Civil Rights Congress of November 4, 1948, which I desire to offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 30."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 30," is filed herewith.) ²⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. This exhibit contains the names of prominent women in scientific, labor, and educational circles who signed petitions to President Truman and Attorney General Clark urging dismissal of the conspiracy indictment. There is also a list of over 200 signers from the ranks of labor organizations, as shown by a newspaper report which I desire to offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 31."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 31," is filed herewith.) ³⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. In early September, plans were made to reorganize the Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh in order to fully mobilize for the defense of the 12 indicted Communist leaders. Is that not so?

Mr. CVETIC. That was in September 1948, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer in evidence at this time a document from the Civil Rights Congress files entitled "Tentative Slate of Officers for Nominations Committee" and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 32."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 32," is filed herewith.) ³¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that exhibit and see if you can identify the persons whose names appear thereon as members of the Communist Party; that is, persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This particular tentative slate of officers was selected at a meeting between Steve Nelson, Communist Party organizer in western Pennsylvania; Theresa Turner, Communist Party member and executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress; and myself, in the office of the American Slav Congress.

The chairman to be proposed was Thomas Quinn, Communist Party UE organizer.

Rev. C. E. McFadden, who is not, to the best of my knowledge, a Communist Party member, was proposed as vice chairman.

For financial secretary, Rev. W. C. Crenshaw, who also, to the best of my knowledge, is not a Communist Party member, was proposed.

²⁹ See appendix.

³⁰ See appendix.

³¹ See appendix.

For corresponding and recording secretary, Margaret Russinko, whom I have previously identified under the name of Peggy Russinko as a Communist Party youth organizer, was proposed.

For executive secretary, Theresa Turner, a Communist Party organizer and wife of Andy Onda, whom I identified as a Communist Party steel organizer in western Pennsylvania.

For finance chairman, Cvetic; that is myself;

For publicity chairman, Bernice Hecker, and I do not know her to be a Communist Party member;

For chairman of the legal committee, Attorney Hyman Schlesinger; and I have previously identified Hyman Schlessinger as a member of the Communist Party;

For campaign director, Matt; that is me again.

This concludes the tentative slate of officers picked to be presented at an October 16, 1948, conference; picked by Steve Nelson, Theresa Turner, and myself to be presented at this conference.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you previously testified that in the early days of the Civil Rights Congress Miriam Schultz was executive secretary?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct. She was one of the first executive secretaries when the Civil Rights Congress was organized.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your testimony you mentioned that Theresa Turner was executive secretary.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for the change, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I know the reason. This was discussed with Steve Nelson, Theresa Turner, Miriam Schultz, and myself. Theresa Turner came to Pittsburgh in August 1948, and at that time we were trying to find a replacement for Miriam Schultz because her mother had not been well and she wanted to be relieved of responsibility. After discussion with Steve Nelson it was decided Miriam Schultz would be relieved of responsibility as executive secretary, and we proposed the name of Theresa Turner, with the approval of Steve Nelson, as the new executive secretary, and at this meeting Miriam Schultz resigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, Steve Nelson and his Communist associates dictated the change in position of executive secretary of this front organization?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call to the attention of the committee that to cover the real role played by the Communist Party in dictating the program and policy of the Civil Rights Congress, a letter was addressed to William Albertson, secretary of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, on September 25, 1948, advising him of the meeting on October 16, and inviting him to speak in behalf of the 12, concluding with the statement: "May we hear from you in the near future that you have accepted this invitation."

I desire to offer in evidence a copy of that letter of September 25, 1948, to William Albertson, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 33."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 33," is filed herewith.)³²

Mr. Wood. The committee will stand in recess until 2:30.

(Thereupon, a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show we are proceeding under a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Walter and Wood.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman; this morning the document was not available at the time, and I made reference in a statement to expenditures incurred in the holding of the May 27, 1948, meeting of the Civil Rights Congress and the contributions that were made to that expense. I have now before me the document entitled "Expenses on Meeting," which shows a contribution by District No. 6 UE of \$50; and a contribution by No. 610 UE of \$50. I desire to introduce this document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 34."

Mr. Wood. For purposes of identification, where did the document come from?

Mr. TAVENNER. This was one of the documents, as the others were, which Mr. Cvetic produced here in accordance with the subpoena duces tecum from the records of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 34," is filed herewith.)³³

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to divert a moment to ask if you know a person by the name of Anthony Gabrish of New Kensington, Pa.?

Mr. CVETIC. I know an Anthony Gabrish of New Kensington, Pa. He is a Communist Party organizer in New Kensington. I have attended Communist Party meetings with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Frank Malkovich of New Kensington, Pa.?

Mr. CVETIC. I know Frank Malkovich of New Kensington, Pa., and I know Frank Malkovich to be a Communist Party member, since I collected Communist Party dues from Frank Malkovich.

Mr. Wood. Spell that name, please.

Mr. CVETIC. M-a-l-k-o-v-i-c-h.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know a person by the name of Mark Massola of Arnold, Pa.?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Massola is one of the leading Communist Party organizers and he has attended Communist Party district committee meetings in Pittsburgh. He is very active in the New Kensington area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know a person by the name of Joseph Demosky of Arnold, Pa.?

Mr. CVETIC. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not?

Mr. CVETIC. No.

³² See appendix.

³³ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know a person by the name of Leon Gabrish of Arnold, Pa?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, I know him, and know him to be a Communist Party member, having attended Communist Party functionary meetings with him. That is G-a-b-r-i-s-h or G-a-b-r-i-s-c-h, spelled both ways.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a form letter dated September 20, 1948, over the signatures of Thomas Quinn, chairman, and Theresa Turner, executive secretary, Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress, sent as an appeal for defense funds for the 12 indicted as Communist leaders in New York, which I desire to introduce in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 35."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 35," is filed herewith.)³⁴

Mr. WOOD. Is it addressed to any particular person?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

At the bottom of that letter appears a list of sponsors. Will you examine that list of sponsors and state which of them are known to you to be members of the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. First I would like to say that this letter was drawn up at the instructions of Steve Nelson to Theresa Turner and to myself. I helped to draw up this letter at the instructions of Steve Nelson. The list of sponsors was also suggested by Steve Nelson, that they be contacted, and Theresa Turner and myself contacted these sponsors. The following are members of the Communist Party:

Steve Mirokovich, district secretary, Croatian Benevolent Societies; that is the Croatian section of IWO.

Nicholas Baltich, district secretary, Serbian-American Federation; that is the Serbian section of IWO.

Michael Hanusiak, district secretary, Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union; that is the Ukrainian section of IWO.

Joe Rudiak, president, American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania.

George Wuchinich, executive secretary, American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania.

Anna Devunich, secretary, Federation Croatian-American Women. This is a Communist front organization operating among Americans of Croatian descent.

Frank Tady, secretary, Pittsburgh chapter, Croatian-American Council. This is also a Communist front operating among Americans of Croatian descent.

Paul Kluvo, president, Polonia Society. This is the Polish section of IWO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you read the names of all of those appearing as sponsors?

Mr. CVETIC. I have read the names of the Communist Party members appearing as sponsors, a total of 10. With the exception of myself there is only one person listed whom I cannot identify as a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. All the persons whose names you read are known to you to be Communist Party members?

³⁴ See appendix.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I have attended Communist Party functionary meetings with these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of that communication, and what was done with it?

Mr. CVETIC. The purpose of that communication—I could read right from the letter:

Recognizing its responsibility to expand the fight against these attacks, the Civil Rights Congress is calling a conference on civil rights for Saturday afternoon, October 16, at the Fort Pitt Hotel. In addition it is raising a "defense fund" of \$2,500 in western Pennsylvania.

I would add that this defense fund was for the defense of the 12 Communist Party leaders who were being tried in New York City. [Continuing reading:]

Your organization is invited to participate in this fight and we are therefore enclosing a "call" to the conference and a collection list.

In other words, the purpose was to get these organizations to send delegates to this conference and also to raise funds for the defense of the Communist Party leaders being tried in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Thomas Quinn whose name is signed as chairman is the same Thomas Quinn, is he not, as the one to whom you previously referred in your testimony as a member of UE?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right, and a Communist Party organizer in the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you the same type of letter dated September 28, 1948, also over the signatures of Thomas Quinn, chairman, and Theresa Turner, executive secretary, Pittsburgh Civil Rights Congress. I desire to offer this letter in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic exhibit No. 36."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic exhibit No. 36," is filed herewith.)⁸⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that letter also have a partial list of sponsors at the bottom of the letter?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; it has.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify the names of any of those persons as persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state who they are?

Mr. WOOD. Are those sponsors different from those in the other letter?

Mr. CVETIC. Mr. Chairman, do you want the additional ones?

Mr. TAVENNER. Name all of them.

Mr. CVETIC. Joe Rudiak, president, American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania;

George Wuchinich, executive secretary, American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania;

Alex Wright, vice chairman, Progressive Party;

Nick Lazaris, business agent, local 237, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance;

Stanley Loney, president, District 6, UE-CIO.

⁸⁵ See appendix.

The names I have mentioned here I know to be members of the Communist Party as I have attended functionary meetings of the Communist Party with these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you a set of resolutions adopted at the Civil Rights Congress conference held on October 16, 1948, which I desire to offer in evidence as "Cvetic exhibit No. 37."

Mr. WOOD. They will be admitted.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic exhibit No. 37," are filed herewith.)³⁶

(Representative Walter leaves hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that exhibit and state, if you know, who was the author of those resolutions?

Mr. CVETIC. These resolutions were prepared by Theresa Turner in the office of the American Slav Congress on instructions from Steve Nelson, Communist Party organizer for western Pennsylvania. The actual technical work on these resolutions was done in the office of the American Slav Congress. I was there at the time the work was done on these resolutions.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Civil Rights Congress files also contain a document entitled "Suggestions for Speakers—Preparation for Civil Rights Conference—October 16, 1948." I desire to offer this document in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic exhibit No. 38."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 38," is filed herewith.)³⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who prepared these suggestions?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. These suggestions were prepared by Miriam Schultz, who met with Bill Albertson, Steve Nelson, Theresa Turner, and myself to discuss the suggestions. Some of the particular phases of this document, for example, "Some significant dates and events in recent history," the significance was to compare events in Germany with events in this country. For example:

A. Feb. 1, 1933: President von Hindenburg of Germany, the "lesser evil" whom "middle-of-the-road" and "Socialists" had united to elect, names Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of Germany. General elections to be held March 5, a little over a month later.

B. Feb. 27, 1933: 1. 9:30 p. m. "The Reichstag is on fire!" A shocked populace pours into the streets of Berlin. Elections are six days off. Nazi Party cannot hope to win a majority of the votes.

It continues right on down to try to draw a comparison between the arrest of the Communist Party leaders here and what happened in Germany. The purpose is to try to show that what is happening in the United States is what happened in Germany in 1933. It continues all the way down. We have:

May 2, 1933: Two months later, German trade-unions occupied by Nazi storm troopers.

They are trying to draw the comparison that the same thing is happening here, that the Government is trying to take over the trade-unions and will take them over if fascism comes here; and so on.

Here is the comparison:

July 20, 1948: 12 leaders Communist Party indicted for "advocating" and "teaching" Marxism-Leninism. Grand Jury sitting thirteen months could find

³⁶ See appendix.

³⁷ See appendix.

no evidence to base indictments on overt acts. Attorney General Tom Clark of Texas to press indictments speedily as possible; plea for postponement of trials till after elections to prevent preelection hysteria, and time for attorneys to prepare case, denied."

And so on. Then it gives the names of people protesting the indictments of the 12.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those were suggestions made to the Civil Rights Congress by the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. By the Communist Party, that is right. For example, to bring in the so-called "growing purge list of Tom Clark's Department of Justice" and "intimidation of many thousands of foreign-born."

Mr. WOOD. We will suspend for about 5 minutes.

(Representative Wood leaves hearing room.)

(Representative Walter returns to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any further explanation that you desired to make relating to the "Suggestions for speakers," exhibit 38?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. In this particular document there is also a statement published in the Daily Worker, which was authorized by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, entitled "Communist Party Statement on Frame-up." This statement was also suggested to be used by speakers at the Civil Rights Conference.

Some of the specific cases that they talked about were "FBI and Immigration Department persecution of the foreign-born." They never referred to any reason why anyone was arrested by the Immigration authorities. They always said the foreign-born were being persecuted.

Another suggestion was to attack the House Un-American Activities Committee; and another case asked to be taken up was the Condon case of the Bureau of Standards, and so on.

It came to the conclusion that the efforts of this committee, the FBI, the Immigration authorities, the United States Government, and so on, are a trend toward Fascism in America.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce in evidence a statement entitled "The First Line of Defense" appearing in the Worker, Sunday, August 29, 1948 issue, sponsored by W. E. B. Du Bois, New York City; Roscoe C. Dunjee, Oklahoma City; Charles P. Howard, Des Moines, and Paul Robeson, New York City; and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 39."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be so marked, and it will be admitted in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 39," is filed herewith.)³⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that statement? You will note a long list of sponsors. Will you examine the sponsors listed there from the State of Pennsylvania and state whether or not you can identify the names of any of those listed as being, to your knowledge, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The names appearing on this list as endorsers whom I can identify as members of the Communist Party are: Pearl Griffin, presently employed as secretary of the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania; and Martin Harrison, active in organizational work of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

³⁸ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, there have also been found in these papers presented by Mr. Cvetic records of what appear to be collections of money for the defense fund of the indicted 12, from October 16, 1948, to January 31, 1949. I desire to introduce in evidence one of these letters, bearing date November 23, 1948, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 40."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be so marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 40," is filed herewith.) ³⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, that letter shows the total amount contributed by the Civil Rights Congress, I believe, as being \$576 for a certain period. Is that correct?

Mr. CVETIC. This is the amount of money raised during the month of October 1948 by the Civil Rights Congress of Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether part of that money was actually contributed by the Communist Party which was reflected in the report contained in that letter from the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Of this total of \$576, \$500 was a contribution by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania. The actual contribution was made by Bill Albertson, district secretary of the Communist Party, at the October 16, 1948, Civil Rights Conference at the Fort Pitt Hotel. I attended this conference and saw and heard the presentation.

Mr. TAVENNER. That report you have in your hand, "Cvetic Exhibit No. 40," is signed by William L. Patterson, is it not?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is William L. Patterson, to your knowledge, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. William L. Patterson, who signs this letter and who is listed as national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how do you know that?

Mr. CVETIC. I have attended Communist Party strategy meetings in western Pennsylvania with William Patterson, and William Patterson has personally acknowledged before four or five people, in my presence, that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now desire to introduce in evidence a list of contributions that were mailed in after the conference, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 41."

Mr. WALTER. It will be so marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 41," is filed herewith.) ⁴⁰

(Representative Harrison enters hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please examine this list and state whether or not it appears on the list that the Communist Party was the donor of \$500 to that fund?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. On page 3 of this document it states that the Communist Party contributed \$500 to the defense fund at the conference. It states specifically, "Contributions at Conference," and shows that the contribution was made at the conference.

³⁹ See appendix.

⁴⁰ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. This exhibit 41 also designates other persons as contributors. Can you identify any persons whose names appear there as being members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Eva Jandrokovic. That is her maiden name. She is presently married and her married name is Straka. She contributed \$10.

Nathan Albert, whom I have previously identified as a Communist Party member, contributed \$7.

Paul H. Morrison, whom I have previously identified as a Communist Party member, contributed \$15.

Carl Fink, who is a Communist Party organizer in the coal concentration area of Washington County, contributed \$5.

And there is a contribution of \$50 from the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. That is a branch of the IWO in Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire now to offer in evidence a letter from Charles A. Doyle, trade-union director, Civil Rights Congress, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., addressed to Theresa Turner, Post Office Box 44, Pittsburgh, Pa., under date of December 21, 1948, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 42."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 42." is filed herewith.)⁴¹

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to read the body of it:

I will be in Pittsburgh January 4, 5, 6, and 7, instead of the days I arranged to be there when I saw you last.

Will you please take this up with Bill and Steve and plan some activities for me during those 4 days.

Mr. Cvetic, will you explain that letter?

(Representative Wood returns to hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, if I may look at it I think I can explain it. This letter was addressed to Miss Theresa Turner at Post Office Box 44, which was the post office box of the Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh. It was signed by Charles A. Doyle, trade-union director of the Civil Rights Congress. In answer to Charles Doyle's request, Theresa Turner called Bill Albertson and Steve Nelson and discussed, in the office of the American Slav Congress, with both Bill Albertson and Steve Nelson, plans for some activities for Charles Doyle during those 4 days. Whether or when these meetings materialized as a result of this, I do not know, I did not attend any of the activities, but I did sit in on the plans and discussions held in the office of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you personally acquainted with Charles Doyle?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. I can't testify that he was to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Included also in the files were copies of what appear to be further reports on money collected for the defense fund. I desire to offer in evidence several of these reports and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 43."

Mr. Wood. You are tendering them in one batch?

⁴¹ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. They will be admitted.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 43," are filed herewith.)⁴²

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the reports, Mr. Cvetic. What period of time do they cover?

Mr. CVETIC. These reports cover money collected for the defense fund from October 16, 1948, to January 31, 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say "defense fund" you mean defense fund for the 12 Communists on trial in New York?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You will note that the full names are not used in several instances?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Such as Joe R.; Matt; Rose V.; but attached to that first report is another report which I believe does give the exact names of the persons referred to?

Mr. CVETIC. That is correct. Do you want me to identify the people?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. Joe R. is Joe Rudiak, president of the American Slav Congress.

Rose V. is Rose Vercek from McKee's Rocks, Pa.

Fink is Carl Fink from Houston, Pa., Communist Party organizer in Washington County.

Mike G. is Mike Goldich from McKeesport, Pa.

M. S. is Miriam Schultz, whom I have identified as a member of the Communist Party and as executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see the name Matt?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I was going to skip myself. That is Matt Cvetic. That is myself. I collected \$15 for this defense fund.

Steve Straka is a Communist Party organizer in the coal concentration area in Washington County.

(Representative Wood leaves hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you called the name of Cindrich?

Mr. CVETIC. That is John Cindrich from Washington County. This is Carolyn's husband. They are both active in Cokeburgh, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. There were also included in the Civil Rights Congress files rather worn pages of names with a note on the face which reads: "Important: For contacting! Contributions! etc."

I desire to introduce this list, partly typewritten and partly in ink, consisting of a number of pages, in one batch, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 44."

Mr. WALTER. You can mark it, but it will not be received in evidence for the moment, because it contains a number of names of people who quite obviously are not Communists. I don't think it should be made a part of the record for the moment. We will determine what should be done with it later.

(The documents above referred to were not received in evidence and no exhibit number was assigned to them.)

Mr. HARRISON. You mean these are people you wanted to get to contribute, but it doesn't necessarily mean they contributed?

⁴² See appendix.

Mr. WALTER. Some did contribute, and I notice some are clergymen.

Mr. CVETIC. I will explain the list and the reason for the list without mentioning names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list and explain what the purpose of it was and how it was used?

Mr. CVETIC. This is a list of professional people, trade-union leaders, clergymen, trade-unions, and other organizations. It is a list that was used by the Civil Rights Congress for the purpose of contacting them and trying to involve them in the work of the Civil Rights Congress. This particular list was specifically prepared for the May 27, 1948 Civil Rights Congress public hearings that we talked about. These names would be divided among the active members of the Civil Rights Congress for the purpose of contacting the professional people and others listed in an effort to get them to attend the meetings or get a contribution from them for the defense fund.

Mr. HARRISON. Does that list show from which persons they were able to get a contribution or endorsement?

Mr. CVETIC. I see several people we were able to involve as contributors or sponsors, and people who have even become officers of the Civil Rights Congress, but several are not members of the Communist Party and I would rather not mention their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it would be well to ask the witness if he can identify any names on that list who are known to him to be members of the Communist Party and who have not already been identified by him.

Mr. CVETIC. I would say from the list as I see it here, I have already identified the names mentioned who are Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, that was the list that was used in order to raise funds, or where they hoped to raise funds?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. As I said before, we had these meetings of Communist Party leaders, Roy Hudson, Steve Nelson, and William Albertson. At the time of this particular list Hudson was in Pittsburgh. People would be asked to call on these individuals and try to get them to attend the meetings or get contributions from them. Usually when we prepared these lists they were non-Communists.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, a typical sucker list?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I didn't want to use that word, Congressman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you get the names?

Mr. CVETIC. We had files of people we thought could be involved. The files would be gone over and Steve Nelson would say, "Reverend so-and-so must be contacted. Who can see him?" Or, "Doctor so-and-so must be contacted. In the past he made a contribution." Then someone would be assigned to see them. I would be assigned 5 or 10 people.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was at the very beginning of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. CVETIC. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was not?

Mr. CVETIC. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us how that list was compiled. Was it used by other organizations prior to that time?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This list available to the American Slav Congress, to the Communist Party, to the Progressive Party, and we

could add names, and if a guy turned us down we could strike him off the list; it depended on his response. For example, it might be brought out, "We got Reverend so and so to endorse a meeting last year," or "We got a contribution from Professor so and so 2 years ago," or "Doctor so and so used to contribute \$20 a month."

Mr. TAVENNER. So when a contribution was made to any of these causes, the contributor got his name on the list for all the causes?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. When you got on the sucker list you stayed on until you got voted off.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another list found in the files of the Civil Rights Congress of names of persons suggested for the Speakers' Committee of the Civil Rights Congress. Will you examine that list and state the purpose of that list, please?

Mr. CVETIC. This list was prepared on instructions from the district organizer of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, who at that time was Roy Hudson, that we have a prepared list of speakers for the Civil Rights Congress. Later, when Steve Nelson came, he revised the list.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those speakers listed there are from the different professions?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; like trade-union leaders, reverends, doctors, professional people, organizers, and so on.

Mr. HARRISON. Did they agree to make themselves available as speakers?

Mr. CVETIC. We would call them up or visit them and try to get them to agree to speak.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you know the ones that did actually speak?

Mr. CVETIC. I know the ones here who are members of the Communist Party who were contacted and agreed to speak. Some reverends agreed to participate, but whether they should be mentioned is for the committee to decide.

Mr. HARRISON. But they did speak?

Mr. CVETIC. Some did; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. If there is any person whose name appears on that list who is known to you to be a member of the Communist Party, will you state who he is?

Mr. CVETIC. This is broken down into zones.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by zones?

Mr. CVETIC. For example, Duquesne would be one zone, downtown would be another zone, and so on. Those on this list who are members of the Communist Party are: Alex Steinberg, Mark Lovett, Mary Kluko, Ruth Goldworth, Sarah Filner, Nate Albert, Evelyn Abelson, Walter Mugford, Alex Wright, Viola Schmidt, and Esther Bliss. That covers the Communist Party members.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Cvetic, according to an account in Sunday's Pittsburgh newspaper, the frank of a Member of Congress was used in the dissemination of some Communist literature. Who determined that it was advisable or possible to contact that particular Member?

Mr. CVETIC. Was that in this Sunday's newspaper?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. Well, the person in Pittsburgh responsible for this particular activity met daily with Steve Nelson, so the activities were carried on at the instructions of Steve Nelson.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call attention to a report dated January 12, 1949, by William L. Patterson, national executive secretary, Civil Rights Congress, which I desire to offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 44."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 44," is filed herewith.) ⁴³

Mr. TAVENNER. This exhibit shows that there was raised as of January 12, 1949, the sum of \$2,369.18 of a quota of \$12,500 in the Pittsburgh area, and then follows this paragraph:

Because of this failure to meet the quota in your State, as in other States, only \$65,030 has been collected to date of the \$250,000 we have been campaigning for—
WHICH IS THE MINIMUM NEED.

Mr. Cvetic, I now hand you the minutes of an executive meeting of the Civil Rights Congress held on April 20, 1949. I desire to offer it first in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 45."

Mr. WALTER. It will be received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 45," is filed herewith.) ⁴⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. Listed as attending are Marian, George, Tillie, Milo, Peggy, Crenshaw, and Nate. Can you identify these people whose names appear by these first names or nicknames and advise the committee whether or not any of them are, to your knowledge, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. The George mentioned here would be George Wuchinich, whom I have identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Milo would be Milo Mamula, whom I have identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Peggy would be Peggy Russinko, whom I have identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Nate would be Nate Albert, whom I have identified as a member of the Communist Party.

There are three who are not members of the Communist Party, and perhaps I should pass them up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. I do see additional names, though, of party members. I see Charley Fisher. He was a Progressive Party organizer and was a Communist Party member.

(Representative Wood returns to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Does this record disclose that the members of the Communist Party whom you have noted set up the meeting for May 4 which is listed in the minutes and selected the speakers, also listed in the minutes?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. At this time Milo Mamula had become executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and he set up the meeting of May 4 and prepared the minutes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who are listed as the speakers?

Mr. CVETIC. William Patterson is one speaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. As you call the names, if you have knowledge of their being a member of the Communist Party, please so state.

⁴³ See appendix.

⁴⁴ See appendix.

Mr. Cvetic. William Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is listed as a speaker.

Tom Quinn is listed as the chairman of the meeting.

Nate Albert is listed as a speaker.

Tom Fitzpatrick is listed as a speaker.

Charley Fisher is listed as a speaker.

Charley Newell and Nick Lazaris are listed as speakers. These I have identified as Communist Party members and they were considered as speakers. Which of them actually spoke, I can't say, because I didn't attend the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, on May 3, 1949, the Civil Rights Congress was again instructed by the Civil Rights Congress of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pa., by an "Emergency Legislative Bulletin" which I desire to offer in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 46."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 46," is filed herewith.)⁴⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should read it:

EMERGENCY LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN

SENATE HEARINGS START ON MUNDT-FERGUSON-NIXON BILL (S. 1194)

The Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee opened hearings on the Mundt-Ferguson Bill where Senator Ferguson is scheduled to speak in favor of the Bill. This Bill is similar to the Mundt-Nixon Bill (Police State Bill) of the 80th Congress which was defeated in the Senate only by mass public protest.

It is imperative that there be vigorous opposition on a mass basis to this measure for if it passes it will result in outlawing minority political parties, virtually all progressive organizations, destroy the labor movement, and seriously limit academic freedom and the freedom to religious belief. Free speech, free thought, and the use of free press shall be censored. The Bill of Rights will be undermined and destroyed by this Bill.

ACTION PROGRAM

1. Get as many outstanding community leaders and representatives of organizations in your community to wire Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, Washington, D. C., for time to be heard in opposition to the Mundt-Ferguson Bill (S. 1194).

2. Get as many organizations and individuals in your locality to wire or write to your Senator, urging him to appear before the Judiciary Subcommittee in opposition to this Bill.

3. Start raising the issue before organizations and try to obtain resolutions in opposition to this Bill, copies of which should be sent to Senator McCarran, your own Senator, and to the National Civil Rights Congress.

TIME IS PRECIOUS—ACTION IS NEEDED NOW

The Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Bill is called an effort to "Gag the Millions of Americans who demand an end to the cold war and the defeat of the war-breeding NORTH ATLANTIC PACT."

The provisions of the bill constitute a legislative blueprint for Fascism. This Bill must and will be defeated as was the Mundt-Nixon Bill of the 80th Congress by a mass protest of the people who refuse to be legislated into Fascism.

I now desire to offer in evidence a telegram signed "Cadden" and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 47."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

⁴⁵ See appendix.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 47," is filed herewith.) ⁴⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. The telegram is dated at New York, June 9, 1948, addressed to Miriam Schultz, 1527 Alabama Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., and reads as follows:

Judiciary Committee Meeting On Mundt Bill Thursday Morning. Emergency Steps Necessary To Pour Wires To Committee Members And Your Own Senators Tonight From All Possible Sources. Inform Us What Prominent Veterans You Are Sending To Washington To Join Group Already There.

Mr. Cvetic, this telegram is signed "Cadden." Can you identify Mr. Cadden for the committee?

Mr. CVETIC. Mr. Cadden at that time was active in the Civil Rights Congress out of the national office in New York. Miriam Schultz, to whom this telegram was addressed, was a member of the Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh and a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a form letter dated January 15, 1948, issued by the Civil Rights Congress of western Pennsylvania relative to the showing of the film "Native Land" with its songs and narration by Paul Robeson, photography by Paul Strand, and music by Marc Blitzstein. On the reverse side of the letter are listed the members of the arrangements, program, sponsors, and publicity committees. Will you examine this list of committees and identify those who, to your knowledge, are members of the Communist Party? But first I desire to offer the document in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 48."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 48," is filed herewith.) ⁴⁷

Mr. CVETIC. On the arrangements committee, members of the Communist Party are: Anne Lipkind and Louise Benjoya.

On the program committee, Miriam, no last name mentioned but it is Miriam Schultz, as I remember.

On the sponsors committee, Tom Quinn, Nate Albert, and Sunny Sartisky. Her correct name is Sonya, a Communist Party member and the wife of Jack Sartisky, Communist Party member and UE organizer.

Publicity committee, Dorothy Albert was listed, with myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer a list of persons who were to furnish transportation to a meeting featuring Mrs. Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, on Friday evening, October 28, 1949, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 49."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 49," is filed herewith.) ⁴⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, will you examine the list and state whether or not you can identify the names of any of those appearing thereon as members of the Communist Party, that is, known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. First I would like to say, the way this was arranged, this plan was discussed at the nationality commission of the Communist Party, and this list was prepared at the nationality commis-

⁴⁶ See appendix.

⁴⁷ See appendix.

⁴⁸ See appendix.

sion meeting, and it was our contribution to this meeting at which Mrs. Robeson was present on the evening of October 28, 1949, at the A. Leo Weil School in Pittsburgh. In other words, we were to get these cars to transport people to the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. By "we" to whom do you refer?

Mr. CVETIC. Members of the nationality commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right.

Tony Minerich assumed responsibility for contacting Mary Sumrak, Ivan Strizich—his first name is John, Ivan is Russian for John—Frank Tadey, Arthur Bartl, Leo Fisher, Calvin Brook, John Zuskar, John Vidmar, Jean Vidmar, and Vrbán, that is Joe Vrbán from Lawrenceville. He is also a member of the Communist Party.

Joseph Rudiak was to contact Miriam Schultz, who was a member of the Communist Party.

Anna Devunich contacted four people. I cannot identify any of them as members of the Communist Party.

George Wuchinich assumed responsibility for contacting Marko Godich, Trafford, Paul Kluvo, Mike Stanovich, Anna Fink (and her maiden name is Natchie), Mike Hanusiak, Paul Matanic, Communist Party organizer in Beaver Valley.

And Milo Mamula was to contact Martha Hubscher and also her husband, who is a party member; Lou Bortz, Jerry Grushka, and Hyman Schlessinger.

These people were to be contacted for the purpose of getting five people into their cars to this meeting at which Mrs. Robeson spoke at A. Leo Weil School, a public school in Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who originated the holding of that meeting?

Mr. CVETIC. The Communist Party. We originated that. I would like to say now I have been a member of the Civil Rights Congress since its inception in Pittsburgh. I worked with it until I left Pittsburgh 3 weeks ago. All the programing and planning for the Civil Right Congress in Pittsburgh was done by the Communist Party of western Pennsylvania. There was no exception to this.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a form letter for the holding of a meeting on September 27, on the back of which is a partial list of sponsors, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 50."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 50," is filed herewith.)⁴⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that partial list of sponsors and see if you can identify any of the persons named as being Communist Party members, to your own knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. Of this partial list of sponsors the following are members of the Communist Party: Esther Bliss, Alex Wright, Tom Fitzpatrick, Stanley Loney, Nick Lazari, Jack Strobel, Thomas Quinn, and Joseph Robinson, national cochairman, Steelworkers' Committee for Wallace, formerly employed at Crucible Steel Co. in Pittsburgh.

Mr. Wood. We will take a 5- or 10-minute recess.

(At this point Representative Wood left hearing room. Representative Walter arrived shortly thereafter and continued proceedings.)

⁴⁰ See appendix.

Mr. WALTER (assuming chair). Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence at this time copy of a letter signed "Daughter Dollie Allen, secretary, Elks Rest" bearing date January 29, 1949, which shows a list of the local sponsoring committee on the margin, and I ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 51."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 51," is filed herewith.)⁵⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine this exhibit 51, Mr. Cvetic, and explain what the Elks Rest is and the significance of the letter?

Mr. CVETIC. This was a sponsoring committee call to a legislative assembly and rally to be held in Washington, D. C., on February 11 and 12, 1949. The local sponsoring committee members of the Communist Party were: Alexander Wright, whom I previously identified as a Communist Party member; Joseph "Sonny" Robinson, whom I previously identified as a member of the Communist Party; and Charles Kearns, a radio script writer for one of the Pittsburgh radio stations, who is also a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, there appear among the papers which you presented here, many throw-aways on various subjects. Who decided when a throw-away was to be prepared for the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. CVETIC. This was always decided in meeting with the district organizer of the Communist Party or the district secretary in meeting with the executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the subject of the throw-away decided in the same way?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The subject was always the subject for thorough political discussion in these meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to offer in evidence in one batch the remaining papers and files produced by Mr. Cvetic relating to the Civil Rights Congress, and I will ask that they be tied together and marked "Cvetic Exhibit 52."

Mr. WALTER. Let them be properly identified and received.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit 52," are filed herewith.)⁵¹

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all we desire to offer relating to the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. Cvetic, we will now take up the documents which you presented under the subpoena duces tecum relating to the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALTER. Just a moment. Before going into that I would like to ask Mr. Cvetic several questions. I noticed on the list of contributors and speakers the names of many clergymen.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Certainly none of them were members of the Communist Party. What did you do in order to encourage them to assist in these Communist movements?

Mr. CVETIC. Well, for example, the Negro ministers, we would not approach them on the defense of the 12. While that was the

⁵⁰ See appendix.

⁵¹ See appendix.

central theme around which all our work was built, when we talked it over in these meetings I mentioned, as to how to approach these people, it was decided we would not discuss the defense of the Communist Party leaders, but would go to them and tell them the Civil Rights Congress was in the forefront for the defense of the Negro people, and this would convince some of them.

Mr. WALTER. Then it was the hope of the Communists that, after they had become active in that particular movement, thereafter you could enlist their support in the entire Communist movement?

(Representative Wood returned to hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. For example, at the home of Lawrence Schultz, Reverend Crenshaw, who was not a member of the Communist Party, was at a lunch also attended by Bill Patterson. Bill Patterson would try to convince Reverend Crenshaw that his way was the correct way. At this particular lunch, Patterson went so far as to say his method was different but they were going after the same thing. I was at this meeting, and he told Reverend Crenshaw: "Reverend, the only way we are going to get any place is to learn to hate our enemies enough to kill them." Reverend Crenshaw said he didn't agree, but who are our enemies? He said: "Wall Street and the Washington war makers." He made it very explicit. He told the Reverend Crenshaw how he felt about it.

This Lawrence Schultz is one of the largest contributors to the Communist Party in the Pittsburgh area. He lives at 1527 Alabama Avenue.

To approach the Slavs they usually approach them on the foreign-born theme. Whenever an alien is picked up for deportation, the cases in which the Civil Rights Congress has been interested have all been cases involving Communists. However, they would not defend these people on the basis they were Communist Party members, but on the ground "the capitalists and Wall Streeters are attacking the foreign-born." It depends who it is. They have a program for everybody. The trade-unions, they try to convince the trade-union leaders of some grievance, actual or imaginary, and try to get part of their program in that way.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand at recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, an adjournment was taken until 10:30 a. m. Tuesday, March 14, 1950.)

EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA BASED UPON THE TESTIMONY OF
MATTHEW CVETIC (UNDERCOVER AGENT)

TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1950

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARING

MORNING SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:40 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.

Committee members present: Representative Francis E. Walter and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Charles McKillips, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order. Mr. Cvetic has been sworn. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, on page 11 of the transcript of March 13, 1950, reference is made to Cvetic exhibit No. 8, which is the minutes of the meeting of February 12, 1950, of the Labor Youth League. On that page, I asked if you could identify the recording secretary, whose name appeared merely as "Bernie." You testified that Bernie is Bernie Silas, S-i-l-a-s. Is that a correct spelling of his last name or not?

Mr. CVETIC. The correct spelling of Bernie Silas's name is S-a-l-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. Instead of S-i-l-a-s it is S-a-l-i-s?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the first name is what?

Mr. CVETIC. I have always known him as Bernie, B-e-r-n-i-e. That is the only name he ever used, Bernie Salis, S-a-l-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have previously testified about the campaigns that were conducted by the Civil Rights Congress to raise funds for the defense of the 11 Communists on trial in New York. Can you give us any further information regarding the manner of handling funds raised for that purpose which you have not already testified to?

Mr. CVETIC. Well, I attended a meeting in Chicago of national executives of the Civil Rights Congress in the spring of 1949, either in the spring or early summer of 1949. To this meeting came the

executives from the entire country. We had about 30 executive secretaries. I represented the western Pennsylvania area of the Civil Rights Congress. William Patterson, national executive secretary, was chairman of the meeting. Another who was there was Harold Christoffel; also Mr. Marshall, who at that time was one of the top officials of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Marshall is that?

Mr. CVETIC. I don't recollect his first name. At any rate, at this particular meeting in Chicago, it was called for the purpose of taking up the main topic, and that was the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

In the course of the discussions which developed in the 2 days, several of the people who attended these meetings complained bitterly because some of the money which was raised for other causes was deflected to the defense of the Communist leadership. In one particular case there was a fund of over \$20,000 raised for a specific campaign, and no record was ever available that the money was used for that particular purpose. From all indications and apologies by top officials, this fund was deflected to the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

The conclusion was reached at this meeting that from then on money would be used for the purpose for which it was raised. We were working and raising funds for many cases, the Leon Josephson case and many others, and from the discussions at this meeting it was brought out that much of the money raised for these cases was deflected to the Communist leadership defense.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of the deflection of funds to any other purposes than the defense purpose?

Mr. CVETIC. No; I do not. At Communist Party meetings we were told that the Civil Rights Congress was not to be trusted with the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who took part in determining the policy that the funds raised by the Civil Rights Congress should be used in the defense of the Communist Party leaders?

Mr. CVETIC. This decision, which came in the form of a report from Steve Nelson, came from the national board of the Communist Party in New York. It was made in the form of a report to the Communist Party functionaries in western Pennsylvania. I remember many communications from William Patterson, the national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, and he constantly closed his letters with: "Please remember that our main objective is the defense of the Communist Party leadership" or "We must build all our campaigns around the defense of the Communist Party leadership."

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the purpose for which the fund of \$20,000 was raised which you said it was suspected had been diverted to the defense of the Communist leaders?

Mr. CVETIC. The amount, as I recollect, was around \$23,000. Without my notes, which I turned over to the FBI, I don't remember the specifics on it. As soon as I would get through with a meeting, I would file my reports and then get started on the next day's work.

Mr. TAVENNER. We will now take up the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, based on documents which you turned over the committee. As you have already dealt with the organization of the Progressive Party and its leaders in your previous testimony, we will

confine the questions at this time to the documents which you produced in response to a subpoena duces tecum when you first testified before the committee.

I hand you a letterhead of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania which includes the names of officers. First, I desire to offer it in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 53."

Mr. WALTER. Without objection, it will be received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 53," is filed herewith.)⁵²

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the exhibit and state whether or not you can identify the names of any of the officers appearing on the left margin of the letterhead as persons who are members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. This is a letterhead of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania. Listed here are the officers of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania. I identify the following as members of the Communist Party:

The secretary, Thomas Fitzpatrick.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he the same Tom Fitzpatrick who is a member of UE?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This is the same Tom Fitzpatrick whom I have previously identified as a member of UE.

Nicholas Lazaris. He is the same Nicholas Lazaris I have testified to previously, from the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance, Local 287.

Stanley Loney.

I should say that after the first name, Thomas Fitzpatrick, who is secretary, these are vice chairmen of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania.

Virginia Seymour, Pittsburgh regional director, Western Pennsylvania, Progressive Party. She held that position until the completion of the Wallace campaign in 1948, at which time she resigned and went to California. According to information I have, she was at one time a member of the National Committee on Atomic Information.

Alexander Wright, international representative, United Stone and Allied Products Workers, CIO, and presently the director of the Progressive Party in Western Pennsylvania.

George Wuchinich, Pittsburgh, executive secretary, American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, presently in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are all the persons named by you from that letterhead known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The persons I have named are known to me to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a letter on the letterhead of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, bearing date November 23, 1949, addressed to "Progressive Party State Leadership," from Zalmon H. Garfield, State director, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 54."

Mr. WALTER. Without objection, it will be received.

⁵² See appendix.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 54," is filed herewith.)⁵³

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you personally acquainted with Zalmon H. Garfield, whose name appears on that letter as the State director of the Progressive Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I am. I met Zalmon H. Garfield when he was a director of the Progressive Party in western Pennsylvania for about 6 months last year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; he is. He met with members of the Communist Party at 943 Liberty Avenue and other places to discuss policy.

Mr. TAVENNER. These were meetings designed only for Communist Party members?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. Shall I spell his name? Z-a-l-m-o-n H. G-a-r-f-i-e-l-d. He has been transferred since to Philadelphia and is working there at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is connected in Philadelphia with the administration of any organization?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. He is still an administrator in the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a photograph appearing in the April 30, 1949, issue of the Pittsburgh Courier, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 55."

Mr. WALTER. For what purpose?

Mr. TAVENNER. To identify individuals whose photographs are included in the picture.

Mr. WALTER. Without objection it will be received.

(The photograph above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 55," is filed herewith.)⁵⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the photograph and state whether or not it purports to be a photograph of a swimming party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This is a photograph of a swimming party held at Highland Park, Pittsburgh, which was organized by the YPA, that is, the Young Progressives. I can identify the following as members of the Communist Party: Esther Bliss—

Mr. TAVENNER. How many will you be able to identify in that picture as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Seven.

Mr. TAVENNER. As you name them, will you mark their photographs 1, 2, 3, and so on through 7?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The first is Esther Bliss.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mark her photograph with a 1.

Mr. CVETIC. Eben Matlis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mark his photograph 2.

Mr. CVETIC. Herbert Walker, 3; Louise Benjoies (it is also spelled B-e-n-j-o-y-a), 4; Bessie Steinberg, 5; Esther Roth, 6; and Jerry Grushka, 7.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence as one batch four petitions which were taken from the Progressive Party files identified by the witness, Mr. Cvetic, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 56."

Mr. WALTER. They will be received.

⁵³ See appendix.

⁵⁴ See appendix.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 56," are filed herewith.)⁵⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine exhibit 56 and state whether you can identify the names of any persons appearing thereon as persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I will do that. These are lists which were used to raise contributions for the Wallace campaign in 1948:

Tony Lepovich, Communist Party member in Bentleyville, Pa.;
Ned Rasovich, Communist Party member in Bentleyville, Pa., and a former member of the district committee of the Communist Party;

Mary Sumrak, whom I previously identified as a Communist Party member;

John Strizich, Communist Party member and a former employee of the Language Press, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Tom Quinn, whom I previously identified as a Communist Party leader working in UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a list entitled "Progressive Party Ticket Sellers," which was obtained from the same files, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 57."

Mr. WALTER. Without objection it will be marked and received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 57," is filed herewith.)⁵⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what the purpose was for the compilation of that list?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This list is a compilation of ticket sellers for the Wallace meeting back in 1948. We kept a list of the ticket sellers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list and state whether or not any persons whose names appear thereon are known to you to be members of the Communist Party, and if so state their names?

Mr. CVETIC. Mr. Chairman, this is a rather lengthy list. Shall I repeat the names of people I have previously identified?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. Anne Natchie, a Communist Party member of Washington County—she is married at present and her name is Anne Fink; she is the wife of Carl Fink, whom I have previously identified as a member of the Communist Party;

Nick Baltich;

Frank Borich;

Tony Cipicic;

Mike Hanusiak, national organizer of the IWO;

Milo Mamula;

Max Jenkins, the organizer for the Jewish section of IWO;

Elmer Kish, previously identified as a Communist Party organizer at Homestead Steel;

Mrs. Mary Matles. Her correct name is Matlesko, M-a-t-l-e-s-k-o; living at 431½ Maine Street, Conemaugh, Pa. She is one of the active Communist Party organizers in Cambria County.

Alex Stabler, previously identified;

Jack Sartisky;

Steve Rosner;

⁵⁵ See appendix.

⁵⁶ See appendix.

Walter Kurowski, 921 Summit Avenue, Monessen, Pa.;

Alice Roth;

Alex Wright;

Jack Begler, 1551 Dennison Street, Pittsburgh;

Ida Bortz, 1253 Shadycrest Drive, Pittsburgh;

Lewis Bortz, her husband, previously identified;

Eddie Lange, 1108 Bidwell Street this time, a Communist Party organizer at the Heinz Co., North Side, Pittsburgh;

Joe Mankin, who is in charge of the hotel and restaurant workers' cell of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh;

Steve Paich, 729 Giffons Avenue, Cannonsburg, Pa.—a Communist Party organizer in coal concentration in Washington County;

Miriam Schultz, identified yesterday by me as a former executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress;

M. Y. Steinberg, Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, an attorney and previously identified by me as a member of the Communist Party;

Maurice Shindler;

Charles Vuich, 102 Edgewood Avenue, Trafford, Pa., Communist Party organizer in the Language Division.

Mr. WALTER. The names you have mentioned are of persons you are certain are members of some Communist organization?

Mr. CVETIC. These are all names of persons with whom, in the past 7 years, I have attended Communist Party functionary or committee meetings, or branch meetings, or meetings of one of the commissions of the Communist Party, such as the steel commission, or a political commission of the Communist Party, where we discussed what party line to carry into the Progressive Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence as one exhibit a batch of papers consisting of 10 sheets, purporting to be a record of the sale of tickets, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 58."

Mr. WALTER. Without objection, they can be marked and received in evidence.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 58," are filed herewith.)⁵⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that list and give us the names of any persons appearing thereon who, to your knowledge, are members of the Communist Party, other than those you have already mentioned in the previous exhibit?

Mr. WALTER. I suppose, Mr. Tavenner, that in view of the fact there are many names on those lists of persons who have no Communist affiliations, you will be careful that innocent people are not injured by the receipt of these documents in evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CVETIC. Frances Begler; Lillian Lewis; they are additional to the ones I already mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now offer in evidence what appears to be a mailing list, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 59."

Mr. WALTER. For what purpose is it offered?

Mr. TAVENNER. For the purpose of identifying names appearing on it as members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. Without objection it will be marked and received.

⁵⁷ See appendix.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 59," is filed herewith.) ⁵⁸

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that exhibit and state the names of any persons appearing thereon known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Helen Migalich; Matthew Vukovich; Zare Werlinich, a member of the Communist Party in McKees Rocks, Pa.; and Anthony Skvarich.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence copy of a letter purporting to be from George S. Wuchinich, whose name is typed at the bottom of the letter, bearing date May 12, 1948, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 60."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 60," is filed herewith.) ⁵⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe what that letter is?

Mr. CVETIC. The letter states—

DEAR FRIEND: The following is an enumeration of expenses for individuals who have spent considerable time in the Panhandle Division of West Virginia to campaign on the petition signing.

I have knowledge of the petition signing referred to, because I worked with them. It was the Wallace petition campaign in the spring of 1948. The persons listed in this letter were assigned to go to West Virginia by the Political Commission of Western Pennsylvania. These are their expense accounts, and these are the individuals listed.

Mr. KEARNEY. These individuals you are about to name, are they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; they are.

Mr. KEARNEY. I agree with the chairman that we don't want to see the name of anybody brought into this record who is not a member of the Communist Party, because there are many fine citizens who might have their own ideas as to whom they might like to campaign or vote for for any office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list of expenditures stated there and give the names of those appearing on the list who are known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. The following are members of the Communist Party:

Milo D. Mamula, who submits a bill of \$67.05 for his expenses in the West Virginia campaign;

Herbert Walker, who submits an expense account of \$18.30 for this campaign;

George S. Wuchinich, who submits an expense account of \$16.50 for his part of the expenses.

I know these three people to be members of the Communist Party, as I have attended Communist Party functionary meetings with them.

Mr. WALTER. What instructions were given these men when they embarked on the campaign in West Virginia?

Mr. CVETIC. It seemed the campaign in West Virginia was lagging down. We had several meetings in Pittsburgh and we asked people who were not busy—I was asked to go down, but I was too busy—

⁵⁸ See appendix.

⁵⁹ See appendix.

those who were available were asked to go down. These were three people who were selected as a result of meetings of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania to go into West Virginia to organize the petition campaign.

Mr. WALTER. Whom were they told to contact?

Mr. CVETIC. That I don't know, because I wasn't in West Virginia on the campaign myself.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know what type of person they sought to help?

Mr. CVETIC. Frankly, I was not familiar with the West Virginia campaign at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there other persons listed in this letter other than the three you have mentioned?

Mr. CVETIC. Joe Rudiak.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't want the name of any person not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CVETIC. Joe Rudiak is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had failed to state his name a moment ago.

Mr. CVETIC. His name is on page 2. I had not turned to the second page. Those are the only members of the Communist Party listed on this document to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there other persons whose names appear in that document, other than members of the Communist Party? I am not asking who they are, but are there other names mentioned?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; there are other names listed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the writer of the letter?

Mr. CVETIC. George S. Wuchinich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read the last paragraph?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes [reading]:

We consider it a great privilege to have participated in helping our sister State and it is with a great deal of pride that we enjoy the victory of 10,000 signatures of which 723 came from the Panhandle division.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now desire to offer in evidence what purports to be a copy of minutes of a meeting held on November 29, 1949, of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, western region, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 61."

Mr. WALTER. Without objection it will be so marked and received. (The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 61," is filed herewith.)⁶⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine exhibit 61 and state whether or not you can identify in the minutes the names of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Starting at the top of the page, I shall mention only Communist Party members:

Charles M. Kerns, Jr., county chairman of the Progressive Party, Allegheny County; Zalmon H. Garfield; Alexander Wright; Nicholas Lazaris; Maurice Shindler; William Gordon; Allen Thomas; and Milo Mamula. The names I mentioned are all members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, there has been found among the papers which you have produced in response to the subpoena duces tecum, a list entitled "Participants in the Meeting, Veterans Committee of

⁶⁰ See appendix.

Western Pennsylvania Against Mundt-Nixon Bill," which shows 14 persons present at the meeting. I desire to offer this list in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 62."

Mr. WALTER. Without objection it will be marked and received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 62," is filed herewith.) ⁶¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine that list and state how many of the 14, if any, are known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. There are 14 names on here, and 8 are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the names of those known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Alex Steinberg; Paul Matanic; Arthur Bartl; Charles M. Kerns, Jr.; George Nichols; Eben Matles; Jack Sartisky, and George S. Wuchinich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this concludes the testimony relating to the Progressive Party, but I would like at this time to introduce in evidence the rest of the records which have been produced by Mr. Cvetic, and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 63" for further study in connection with the records of the hearing.

Mr. WALTER. Let them be marked and received.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 63," are filed herewith.) ⁶²

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, we will now take up the American Slav Congress. As you have gone into detail on this organization during your previous testimony before the committee, the following questions will be based on the documents produced by you in response to the subpoena duces tecum relating to the American Slav Congress.

There is one preliminary question, however, I desire to ask you. These documents contain a file marked "Clergy and Professionals Committee." I will offer this file in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 64."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received.

(The file above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 64," is filed herewith.) ⁶³

Mr. WALTER. I think it might be well at this time to make the announcement that if any of the people whose names have been mentioned desire to refute the accusation made, they will be given an opportunity to do so.

Mr. KEARNEY. I thoroughly agree with the chairman. As a matter of fact, it was my intention to offer that suggestion. I think that any of these persons who are named here by any of the witnesses should have an opportunity to appear before the committee and refute the testimony.

Mr. WALTER. That is particularly true of the Progressive Party situation, because while it was thoroughly riddled by Communists, nevertheless there are a lot of well-meaning people in that movement who are not Communists.

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. Actually, it was a slow process. When the American Slav Congress was started there were very few Com-

⁶¹ See appendix.

⁶² See appendix.

⁶³ See appendix.

munists in it, but after 1944 they were practically all Communists. The same with the Progressive Party. But the Communist Party did concentrate on, and in Western Pennsylvania took control of, the Progressive Party. It was a part of the whole program. What they like to do is form a coalition with any progressive or liberal group they can. I listen to Max Weiss, district organizer for the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, explain the importance of forming coalitions with progressive and liberal groups, and then, "when you gain control, take over and liquidate the rest."

I think we have seen countries forming coalitions and later becoming victims of treason trials and some were liquidated. We see what is happening to the coalitions in the eastern European countries, and I think it should be a warning to the American people here that the Communist Party is planning the same program here.

Mr. WALTER. Even to the point of liquidation?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. The Communist Party has only one objective in their infiltration in trade-unions and mass organizations.

Mr. KEARNEY. It seems to me a lot of these good people are on the sucker list.

Mr. CVETIC. It is unfortunate they don't realize the seriousness of it. While some are innocent, I am sorry to say some are not. We mentioned Louis Adamic here, who is not a Communist Party member to the best of my knowledge, yet one of his books was proofread by Tony Minerich, who has been a known Communist Party member for over 20 years. Today Louis is in the Communist doghouse. It is a dangerous game. The Communists don't have any respect for the people who are gullible enough to accept them as brothers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine exhibit 64 and state what was the plan used by the American Slav Congress to induce clergymen to take part in the activities of the group?

Mr. CVETIC. This file, which is marked "Clergy and Professionals Committee," was a file which was set up by the American Slav Congress, Nationality Commission, for the 1944 convention. The purpose of this file—and the purpose was outlined in a nationality commission meeting of the Communist Party—was to involve as many clergymen and professional people as we could in the national convention of the American Slav Congress in Pittsburgh in 1944.

We worked out a campaign, headed by Tony Minerich, a Communist Party member identified by me here, and Rev. Vioslav Gachinovich, also a member of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. Mr. Minerich and Rev. Gachinovich were responsible for setting up a program to involve the clergy and professional people in the national convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether the Reverend Vioslav Gachinovich was a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. At that time he sat down with members of the nationality commission separate and aside. Because of his position, he met with Mr. Minerich, or he met with myself and other leaders, for the purpose of discussing this particular project.

Mr. TAVENNER. But he was not a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Not at that time; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mr. CVETIC. The first thing they did in connection with the campaign was to address a letter to prominent clergymen in Pittsburgh:

DEAR REVEREND: A group of 10 clergymen met on August 10 and decided to issue an invitation to a larger meeting of Slav clergymen to consider the Second American Slav Congress.

They say here a group of 10 clergymen met and decided to issue these invitations. Actually there was no such meeting. This whole program was hammered out in the nationality commission of the Communist Party. There was no meeting of 10 clergymen. The letter was sent out over Reverend Gachinovich's signature by Mary Pirinsky, who was working for the American Slav Congress at the time. I have previously identified her as a member of the Communist Party.

This letter was mailed to a list of about 200 to 300 clergymen. Later another letter was sent out. I don't know if I should go into more detail, but the entire campaign was planned by the nationality commission of the Communist Party. That is the way it is done. Where one person will sit down and do the work, we will talk about mass movements. Usually one or two people are assigned by the Communist Party to work on a particular phase of a campaign. We were successful in involving many clergymen in the patriotic programs we had during wartime.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will stand in recess until 2:30.

(Thereupon, at 11:50 a. m., Tuesday, March 14, 1950, a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2:40 p. m., Hon. Burr P. Harrison presiding.)

Mr. HARRISON. The committee will come to order.

You may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, I had handed you, at the end of the morning session, exhibit 64, a file marked "Clergy and Professionals Committee." In the course of your testimony you referred to a person by the name of Anthony Minerich as being one of those who assisted in organizing the clergy back of American Slav Congress work. Who is Anthony Minerich?

Mr. CVETIC. Anthony Minerich—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. CVETIC. M-i-n-e-r-i-c-h. He also spells his name M-a-j-n-e-r-i-c-h. He has been a leader in the Communist Party for more than 20 years, having been active in trade-unions and in the nationality work. He has made at least one trip to Europe for the Communist Party that I know of, and that was about 2 years ago, when Mr. Minerich went to Yugoslavia and came back and reported extensively, touring the United States after returning from Yugoslavia.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a document entitled "Summary—Raffle Distribution" which was found among the papers which the witness presented in compliance with the subpoena duces tecum, and I ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 65."

Mr. HARRISON. So received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 65, is filed herewith.)⁶⁴

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, will you examine that exhibit and see if it contains the names of persons who took part in the raffle?

Mr. CVETIC. This raffle was conducted by the American Slav Congress for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the radio broadcasts over radio station WLOA in Braddock.

Mr. TAVENNER. You see a list of names?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state which of those names are names of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The following are Communist Party members:

Walter Kurowski from Monessen, Pa.;

Tony Lepovich, Bentleyville, Pa.;

Rose Knezevich, from Farrell, Pa.;

Arthur Bartl, from North Side, Pittsburgh;

Charles Vuich, from Trafford, Pa.;

John Zuskar, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Frank Borich, from Pittsburgh;

Vera Brook—she is the wife of Calvin Brook, whom I previously identified;

Martha Hubscher, whose maiden name was Novak, and who has been active in the Communist Party for a long time;

Nick Kelich, from Etna, Pa.;

Joe Mankin, whom I previously identified as working in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union;

Joseph Filner, 3827 Beechwood Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa. He is a Communist Party member and one of the large contributors to the Communist Party in that area. I previously identified his wife, Sarah, who is also listed here, as a Communist Party member.

Bill Kompus, who works for the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh and is a member of the hotel and restaurant workers' cell of the Communist Party;

Toni—her correct name is Antoinette—Nuss, a Communist Party member of South Side, Pittsburgh;

Donald Previel, from Pittsburgh, who has been active in the YPA whose most recent activity was going out in the coal fields with Daily Workers during the coal strike;

Theresa Turner, whom I have previously identified as a member of the Communist Party and a former executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress;

Then there is a listing here, "UE District" and the names of Steve Rosner, Tom Quinn, Stan Loney, whom I have previously identified as Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Steve Rosner is now and what he is doing?

Mr. CVETIC. To the best of my knowledge Steve Rosner left Pittsburgh for Washington and was working with Arthur Gaeth on UE broadcasts. That is what I understand he has been doing. I haven't been in touch with him since he left Pittsburgh.

⁶⁴ See appendix.

Mr. HARRISON. None of these people you have identified as being members of the Communist Party are employees of the Federal Government, are they?

Mr. CVETIC. I understand some are former employees of the Federal Government, but to the best of my knowledge at the present time, unless I would study my testimony, I would hesitate to say.

Mr. HARRISON. If you run across any who are, identify them.

Mr. CVETIC. I know in my previous testimony I identified a doctor I understood was with the State Department some time ago. I don't know whether he is still there.

Mr. HARRISON. Who is he?

Mr. CVETIC. Dr. Victor Sharenkoff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell it.

Mr. CVETIC. Victor, V-i-c-t-o-r, Sharenkoff, S-h-a-r-e-n-k-o-f-f.

Mr. HARRISON. What did he do?

Mr. CVETIC. I don't know. This information was given to me. He was a member of our nationality commission.

Mr. HARRISON. You have no first-hand information that he was ever an employee of the State Department?

Mr. CVETIC. I have no first-hand knowledge.

Mr. HARRISON. Of whether he is or ever was a Government employee?

Mr. CVETIC. No first-hand knowledge.

I think this completes the list.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence another batch of papers headed "Tickets" and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 66."

Mr. HARRISON. So ordered.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 66," are filed herewith.)⁶⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what that list purports to be?

Mr. CVETIC. This is a list of persons who had tickets for a garden party which the American Slav Congress held to raise money for the radio program on WLOA.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list and state whether or not there appear thereon names of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Anton Skvarich is a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party.

Peter Skrtich, 2314 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh, is a member of the Communist Party.

And I previously testified that Mike Dudash and Paul Kluvo are members of the party.

There are names here I have previously mentioned in connection with American Slav Congress activities. I don't know whether I should repeat them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; repeat them, to show their activities.

Mr. CVETIC. Louis Filetich, Martin Krasich, Arthur Bartl, Michael Hanusiak, Nick Baltich, Calvin Brook, George Wuchinich, Joe Rudiak, Jean Vidmar, Paul Radus, Joseph Vrbanc, 4815 Breezeport Street, Pittsburgh; Frank Pauk, whose address is given as 1916 East Street. At that time he was employed there. He lives at Perrysville, Pa.

John Rusin, Joseph Harajevich, and Mane Susnjar.

⁶⁵ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. I tender in evidence a sheaf of papers obtained from the same source, which has as its head "Trade-Unionists, Western Pennsylvania," and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 67."

Mr. HARRISON. Received in evidence.

(The papers above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 67," are filed herewith.)⁶⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe the purpose of that compilation of names?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This is a list of trade-unionists which we used in the offices of the American Slav Congress to contact on some of our activities. In other words, it is a type of list which we this morning referred to as contacts, people to be contacted to try to involve them in some of our activities. Some of them are Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the names of those who are known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Nicholas Lazaris.

Mr. TAVENNER. Incidentally, is the list broken down into the names of unions?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. It is broken down into A. F. of L., CIO, United Mine Workers, District 6 UE, and then a combined list of CIO and A. F. of L.

Mr. TAVENNER. In calling out the names of those who are Communists, will you break them down as they are broken down on the list?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

In the A. F. of L., the following are Communist Party members: Nicholas Lazaris, Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union of Pittsburgh.

In the CIO: Tony Salopek, who at the time was with Local 1256, United Steel Workers of America. I understand he has since been voted out.

In the combined list of CIO and A. F. of L.: Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, District 6, UE; Theodore Wright, Box 426, Wilmerding, Pa. I know Theodore Wright to be a former member of the district committee of the Communist Party in Western Pennsylvania and active in Local 610 of the United Electrical Workers. I have attended many functionary and committee meetings of the Communist Party with Ted Wright; Herbert Nusser, from North Side, Pittsburgh; Steve Suto, Homestead, Pa., active at Carnegie Steel in Homestead; Elmer Kish, identified previously by me as being active at Homestead Steel in Pittsburgh; William L. Heiston, who at this time was residing at Turtle Creek, Pa., was a Communist Party organizer in United Electrical Workers. I believe in the past year he has left Pittsburgh; Walter Kurowski, from Monessen, Pa., previously identified by me as being active in the United Steel Workers in that area.

Mr. HARRISON. Who are these people?

Mr. CVETIC. Contacts; trade-union and prominent people to be contacted and an effort made to involve them in some of our activities.

Mr. HARRISON. People who have previously responded to such calls?

Mr. CVETIC. Not necessarily. We kept lists of people we tried to involve in some of our activities. Some were clergymen; some were professional people; and we also included the political leaders.

⁶⁶ See p. 1330.

Mr. HARRISON. This has the names of quite a few prominent people. How did their names get here? Who put them on this list?

Mr. CVETIC. Usually they would be supplied. Either we would compile them or get them from another front organization. In the American Slav Congress we had a list of over 5,000 individuals and organizations. All these front organizations would work together. If I wanted the leaders of the UE trade-unions, I would contact our people in the UE. It would depend what activity we had. If it was a type of activity in which we felt we should involve some political leaders, we would contact them.

Mr. HARRISON. I notice here the name of a mayor of some small town. Does that indicate that mayor has made himself available to contacts in the Communist Party, or not?

Mr. CVETIC. Not necessarily yes or no. Some have and some have not. The fact they have not made themselves available does not mean we did not contact them. We had lists in our files of all the political leadership. If we organized an activity in one town, sometimes we would send out a blanket letter.

Mr. HARRISON. The politicians on this list are not to be regarded as being friendly to the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. If I can look at the list, I can tell whether they have or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this list used similarly to the "sucker" list of the Civil Rights Congress group?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. It would be used in the same way.

Mr. HARRISON. There is some difference between what you call a "sucker" list and a contact list?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This would not be the same type of list.

Mr. HARRISON. This would indicate more likelihood of receptive contact based on previous contact?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. It would mean in some form or another we were able to involve him to favorably respond on one or two activities. Maybe it was a small thing like getting a clergyman to get on a sponsors' list. Once he had sponsored something he would be subject to being called to sponsor something else.

Mr. HARRISON. Would he know he was being contacted by the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. In most of the cases I would say "No."

Mr. HARRISON. All right. Let's leave it at that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I tender in evidence another list of names under the heading "Pittsburgh Delegates" and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 68."

Mr. HARRISON. Have you offered that 67 in evidence?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. I think the whole committee had better pass on that. I don't want the full responsibility. We will mark 67 for identification only, and I think it should be considered in executive session by the full committee.

Mr. CVETIC. Mr. Chairman, when you asked me about that previous list—

Mr. HARRISON. I am talking about 67 now.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The way the Communist Party works, we have commission meetings and discuss the plan within the framework of the Communist Party first, then we go into the front organization.

If we can involve an individual on one thing, as soon as he puts his name to something he is used to the greatest extent we can use him.

Mr. HARRISON. Have these people put their names to something knowing it was sponsored by the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Some have on front organizations. There are individuals on that list who have sponsored some activities of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. HARRISON. And they are people regarded as friendly to the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; that is right.

Mr. HARRISON. That is what you are saying about exhibit 67, that the people on that list are in the files of the Communist Party as friendly to them?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right. Some of them in the last year or two have changed their attitude.

Mr. HARRISON. This exhibit 67 will be marked "Exhibit 67" for identification, and before it is received in evidence I think it should be passed upon by the full committee.

(The document above referred to, previously offered and received in evidence, is withdrawn from evidence and marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 67, for identification only.")

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you rule on the other paper offered as Cvetic exhibit No. 68."

Mr. HARRISON. This is Pittsburgh delegates to what?

Mr. CVETIC. To the 1946 national convention of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. HARRISON. This will be received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 68," is filed herewith.)⁶⁷

Mr. CVETIC. It is true that many people are involved innocently in these front organizations. I would have to qualify each individual whose name is on the list according to my experience with that individual.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine exhibit 68 and state whether or not any of the persons whose names appear thereon are known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; there are.

Mr. TAVENNER. Give their names.

Mr. CVETIC. This is a list of delegates to the American Slav Congress National Convention held in Pittsburgh in September 1946. The following are known Communist Party members, and I am testifying to this on the basis of Communist Party members with whom I have attended committee or functionary meetings of the Communist Party:

Frank Tadej, T-a-d-e-j—he also spells it T-a-d-y;

Stephen Mirkovich;

Zare Werlinich;

Anthony Skvarich;

Joe Vrbani;

Mary Sumrak;

Anna Pintar;

N. S. Loya, who uses the name of Steve Loya, one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh who went to Yugoslavia about 2 years ago;

⁶⁷ See appendix.

Stephen Devunich;
Joseph Migalich;
Arthur Bartl;
Leo Fisher;
Louis Filetich;
Frank Borich;
Mike Dudash;
Ladislov Sobol, from Etna, Pa.;
John Matelesko, M-a-t-e-l-e-s-k-o, who also uses the name Matles,
M-a-t-l-e-s, from Conemaugh, Pa., in Cambria County;

Matthew Lepovich, from Bentleyville, Pa. I know him to be a member because I attended Communist Party meetings in Washington County with him at the home of Harold Spencer, who is also a Communist Party member. I wanted to qualify this man because he is a deputy sheriff in Washington County.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the person referred to as a deputy sheriff?

Mr. CVETIC. Matthew Lepovich.

[Continuing to name Communists:] Steve Merges;

Alexander Makushenko;
Anton Cipic;
Rev. Vioslav Gachinovich;
Mike Godich;
Anthony Minerich;
Martin Krasich;
Milo Mamula;
Mane Susnjar;
Paul Kluvo;
Michael Hanusiak;
John Kowalski, South Side, Pittsburgh;
Calvin Brook;

Daisy Lolich. She is married now and her name is Bartl.

Rev. Nikola Drenovac, a member of the Communist Party. He is now in Yugoslavia.

Nicholas Baltich;

Milena Gachinovich. She is the wife of Rev. Gachinovich and she is also in Yugoslavia.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence another list, headed "Delegates, contributors and officers of organizations to whom invitations have been sent to form an American Slav Congress Committee of Turtle Creek Valley" and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 69."

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Witness, there is no reason to assume that the persons named on this list accepted such an invitation, is there?

Mr. CVETIC. Not at all.

Mr. HARRISON. I think we had better mark it 69 for identification, not to form a part of the permanent record of these proceedings.

(The document above referred to was marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 69 for identification only.")

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine exhibit 69, which has been admitted for identification only, and state whether or not it contains names of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party, and if so, state their names.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This is a list of "Delegates, contributors and officers of organizations to whom invitations have been sent to form

an American Slav Congress Committee of Turtle Creek Valley." The following persons on that list are members of the Communist Party: Mary Kluko—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you another question at that point. Do you know whether any of those persons attended the meetings to which they were invited?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Mary Kluko did.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you know, state when you give us a name whether or not that individual did attend.

Mr. CVETIC. Mary Kluko was active in this committee and attended meetings as a result of this invitation.

Arminia Sardoch is a member of the Communist Party and he attended meetings.

John Bronich, while a member of the Communist Party, I can't say that he attended meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now offer in evidence a list of names appearing on the stationery of the Croatian Central Council, Pittsburgh, Pa., and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 70." I believe it purports to be a list of secretaries.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This is a list of secretaries of the Croatian Council of Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. HARRISON. It will be received in evidence and form a part of the record.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 70," is filed herewith.)⁶⁸

Mr. CVETIC. In this list, the following officers are members of the Communist Party:

Mary Sumrak, who is listed here as the vice president, Anna Devunich, secretary.

They are officers of the Women's Council.

Under the secretaries' list, which is of the complete council, the name of Frank Tady, North Side, Pittsburgh, appears. He is a secretary of the Croatian Council in Pittsburgh. He is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HARRISON. We will suspend for 10 or 15 minutes until I can go and vote. [Roll call vote being taken on floor of House.]

(Short recess.)

Mr. HARRISON. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a statement of the names of persons elected at the quarterly meeting, May 25, 1947, at the Mayfair Hotel, to a committee.

Mr. HARRISON. What kind of committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't know. I will have to ask the witness. Before offering it I desire to show it to the witness and ask him to describe the committee.

Mr. CVETIC. This western Pennsylvania committee is a committee selected from the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. HARRISON. It will be received in evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. I ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 71."

Mr. HARRISON. It will be so marked.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 71," is filed herewith.)⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See appendix.

⁶⁹ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the list is broken down into subdivisions?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the names of the subdivisions and the names of any persons on the list known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Serbian section: Daisy Bartl, Milo Mamula, and George Wuchinich.

Slovak section: Paul Hodos, former manager of the American Slav Printing Co., 1916 East Street, North Side, Pittsburgh. He is now in Chicago, Ill. And Ladislav Sobol.

New Kensington: Mike Stanovich.

Croatian section: Arthur Bartl, Frank Kamalich, from North Side Pittsburgh, and Frank Tady, T-a-d-y, who also spells his name T-a-d-e-j.

South Side Russian section: John Kowalski.

Cokesburg and Bentleyville Area of Washington County, Pa.: Ned Rasovich.

Coverdale, Pa.: Anton Cipicic.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a list entitled "List of City Committee" and ask you to describe that list, what it means.

Mr. CVETIC. This is a list of the City Committee of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania. It is the city committee of the city of Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer it in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 72."

Mr. HARRISON. Received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 72," is filed herewith.)⁷⁰

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list and state the names of persons on that list known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes:

Zare Werlinich, McKees Rocks, Pa.;

Mane Susnjar, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Nick Baltich, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Arthur Bartl, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Daisy Bartl, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Frank Tadej, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Joe Vrbanc, Lawrenceville, Pa.;

Leo Fisher, North Side, Pittsburgh;

Paul Radus, now in Cleveland, Ohio;

Steve Devunich, West View, Pa.;

Anna Devunich, West View, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now offer in evidence a sheaf of papers headed "Credentials" and ask that they be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 73."

Mr. HARRISON. Received in evidence.

(The papers above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 73," are filed herewith.)⁷¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine these papers and state what they are?

⁷⁰ See appendix.

⁷¹ See appendix.

Mr. CVETIC. These are credentials for the tenth anniversary conference of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, held at the Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., Sunday, June 13, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine each sheet and state whether or not the names appearing there are names of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party, and if they are, state what union or other organization they represented at that conference.

Louis Vucich, from Rural Ridge, Pa., represented Lodge 626, Croatian Fraternal Union.

Matt Ahel, from North Side, Pittsburgh, represented Lodge 4308, IWO.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is IWO?

Mr. CVETIC. International Workers Order.

Here is a credential, local chapter of the Croatian Council, North Side, Pittsburgh: Anton Skvarich, Paul Radus, Peter Skrtich, John Strizich, Joseph Vrban, Frank Tadej.

The Servian American Federation IWO National Committee delegate was Nicholas Baltich.

District 6, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 549 Wabash Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., delegate: Thomas Quinn, 201 Beech Street, East Pittsburgh, Pa.

Polonia Society IWO, Lodge 3677, Springdale, Pa. There are three delegates listed here. The member of the Communist Party I can identify is Joe Chuplis, from Springdale, Pa.

International Workers Order, Export, Pa., delegate: Mike Stanovich, from Export.

American Yugoslav Progressive Association, "Sloga," McKeesport, Pa., delegate: Nick Godich.

Serbian Lodge 106, SNF—and that is the Serbian National Federation, a fraternal organization—delegate: Charles Vuich, from Trafford, Pa.

Croatian Fraternal Union, Lodge No. 1, North Side, Pittsburgh. Five delegates are listed. The Communist Party delegate is Steve Devunich from West View, Pa.

Committee of United Lodges, Brownsville, Pa., delegates: Steve Straka and Eva Jandrakovic. She is married now and her name is Straka.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another two pages of names marked at the top "Received at the dance." Will you state what that list is?

Mr. CVETIC. This was a dance that the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania held in conjunction with a raffle in February 1949 to raise money for the radio broadcast.

Mr. HARRISON. These are people who came to the dance?

Mr. CVETIC. They sold tickets. We raffled a television at the dance.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer it in evidence as "Cvetic Exhibit No. 74."

Mr. HARRISON. It will be received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 74," is filed herewith.)⁷²

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list and state the names of those who are members, to your knowledge, of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Herb Glickman, Vera Brook, Jean Vidmar, Mike Hanusiak, Bill Kompus, Leo Fisher, Donald Previel, Dr. Ray Valin-

⁷² See appendix.

sky, who is a dentist in Pittsburgh, and I want to state my reasons for knowing he is a member of the Communist Party, because he is very prominent in that area. Dr. Ray Valinsky taught me in a Communist Party class in the home of Ann Lipkind in Squirrel Hill, Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. CVETIC. As long as 5 years ago. He taught me in one of the first Communist Party classes I ever attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a paper and ask if you can identify it?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. This is part of the records on the television set we raffled, and the name Tony Lepovich appears on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you already testified regarding him?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I identified him as a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what connection have you already identified him, do you recall?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended district committee meetings of the Communist Party with Tony Lepovich, and attended at least two Communist Party functionary meetings with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is not the same person as the one you referred to as being a deputy sheriff?

Mr. CVETIC. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he related?

Mr. CVETIC. That is a brother.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this document in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 75."

Mr. HARRISON. It will be received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 75," is filed herewith.) ⁷³

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another paper and ask you to identify it.

Mr. CVETIC. This is headed "District Committee Western Pennsylvania, National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent." The list is dated October 4, 1947.

Mr. HARRISON. Is that a Communist-front organization?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer this document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 76."

Mr. HARRISON. So received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 76," is filed herewith.) ⁷⁴

Mr. CVETIC. I previously testified that the national executive secretary is a Communist Party member, and the local secretaries I have mentioned so far are also Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the names of those appearing on the committee list known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Stephen Devunich, Anton Cipic, Frank Kamalich, Joseph Migalich, Arthur Bartl, Ivan Bronich, I also identified him under the name of John.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another television record slip. Will you examine it and state whether or not the person whose name appears thereon is a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. Mary Matlesko, who also uses the name of Matles, resides at Conemaugh, Pa. She is a member of the Communist Party.

⁷³ See appendix.

⁷⁴ See appendix.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the significance of that record?

Mr. CVETIC. This is a record of the raffle books for which she was responsible in that area.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 77."

Mr. HARRISON. So received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 77," is filed herewith.) ⁷⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer in evidence a mimeographed list entitled "Newly Elected Officers, American Slav Congress Western Pennsylvania Conference, Sunday, June 13, 1948, Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa." and ask that it be marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 78."

Mr. HARRISON. So received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 78," is filed herewith.) ⁷⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what the exhibit shows?

Mr. CVETIC. These are the newly elected officers of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, elected at a conference on Sunday, June 13, 1948, at the Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are any of the persons named as officers on that list known to you to be members of the Communist Party, and if so will you give their names?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The following officers who were elected at this conference were Communist Party members:

President, Joseph Rudiak;

Vice president, Paul Matanic;

Secretary, George S. Wuchinich;

Treasurer, myself;

The board of directors:

Croatian section, Communist Party members: Helen Migalich; Frank Borich; Leo Fisher; Anna Devunich; Arthur Bartl; and ex officio we also elected Anthony Minerich, who was absent in Yugoslavia. There were seven elected, and six were members of the Communist Party.

Serbian section, four elected: The following were members of the Communist Party: Mary Kluko; Milo Mamula; Charles Vuich; and Nicholas Baltich.

Slovene section, there were five elected. I was a member of the board of directors, and the other person listed whom I can identify as a Communist Party member is John Vidmar. He is the only Communist Party member on this list.

Ukrainian section, Michael Hanusiak.

Polish section, there were five elected. Of these five, the following are Communist Party members: Paul Kluvo; Jean Bakowski—she is married now and her name is Rudiak, the wife of Joseph Rudiak, the president; and Walter Kurowski.

Russian section, Steve Merges. He has since moved to Cleveland, Ohio.

Carpatho-Russian section: John Matlesko, from Conemaugh, Pa. He also uses the name of Matles. He is the only one of three who is a Communist Party member.

⁷⁵ See appendix.

⁷⁶ See appendix.

Slovak section: Calvin Brook, Martha Hubscher, whose maiden name is Novak, and John Zuskar.

Then we also selected a regional committee of western Pennsylvania. Shall I go right into the regional committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. For the McKeesport, Rankin, Clairton, Braddock area, four were elected. Mike Godich is the only one of the four who is a Communist Party member.

Fayette County, Brownsville, and Uniontown, four were elected. Steve Straka is a Communist Party member.

Canonsburg, McDonald, Bentleyville, Cokeburg area, four were elected. Steve Paich from Canonsburg, Pa., is a Communist Party member.

Library, Coverdale area, Anton Cipicic.

Farrell, Pa., area, Rose Knezevich.

Allegheny Valley area, Frank Malkovich.

These were Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer now in evidence a checkbook on the Potter Title & Trust Co., Pittsburgh, Pa., covering the period from November 19, 1947, to May 13, 1948, inclusive, in which the account is shown as having been carried in the name of American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania. First, I would like to ask whether this is one of the records which you obtained and which you brought in response to the subpoena duces tecum?

Mr. CVETIC. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this checkbook in evidence as Cvetic exhibit No. 79.

Mr. HARRISON. It will be received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 79," is filed herewith.)⁷⁷

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the checkbook stub for the 8th of December 1947, No. 6, and state what it is, please.

Mr. CVETIC. This check No. 6, dated December 8, 1947, was paid to the Council on African Affairs, and it was the balance on Robeson's contract for a December 5 festival which the American Slav Congress held at Carnegie Music Hall on that date, in the amount of \$764.05.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of the festival?

Mr. CVETIC. December 5, 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated it was a check for Robeson?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Robeson?

Mr. CVETIC. Paul Robeson, singer and speaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was for his appearance?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the check was made to the Council on African Affairs?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say it was a balance due?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a previous payment made to him?

⁷⁷ See appendix.

Mr. CVETIC. We had originally made a check to Max Yergan in the amount of \$350, and later this check was canceled. I think I would have to go into the entire transaction to explain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please do.

Mr. CVETIC. We had a meeting of the nationality commission of the Communist Party in the fall of 1947, and at this meeting we decided to invite Paul Robeson to come and sing and speak for the American Slav Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. When we say "we" to whom do you refer?

Mr. CVETIC. The nationality commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Of the Communist Party. We would make a decision in the nationality commission and then it would be projected through the American Slav Congress. At that time our secretary was George Wuchinich, and I was the treasurer. We contracted, through Max Yergan, for Paul Robeson's appearance on December 5 for the sum of \$1,000. The affair, however, was not as successful as we had hoped, and after some dickering with Max Yergan and Paul Robeson, who were irked because it was not as financially successful as we had hoped, we dickered with them and settled for this \$764.05.

Actually, Max Yergan was calling us 2 days before the concert came on wanting his money. We had to put him off because ticket money wasn't coming in fast enough, but finally we settled for \$764.05.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall other occasions when you paid large sums to speakers brought before the American Slav Congress at the instance of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. At this same festival held on December 5, 1947, we had as a speaker Louis Adamic, who was an author. We contracted, through W. Colston Leigh, Inc., a booking agency, for Louis Adamic as a speaker, and paid him \$350 to speak at this festival.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the Council on African Affairs, to whom the check of December 8, 1947, was made payable, was cited as subversive and Communist in letter from Attorney General Tom Clark to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947.

Mr. CVETIC. I notice there are several checks payable to George Wuchinich. Will you describe those checks and state what they are for?

Mr. CVETIC. While there are many entries for George Wuchinich, check No. 24, dated March 13, 1948, was made out to George S. Wuchinich in the amount of \$311.10. Of this \$75 was for return of a loan which George made to the American Slav Congress, and \$236.10 was for January salary, ending January 31, 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. How much was his monthly salary?

Mr. CVETIC. \$250 a month.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he receive at the same time salaries from any other front organizations to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. I had no knowledge of his getting funds from any other front organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this concludes the American Slav Congress, except that I desire to offer in evidence the remaining documents which he presented. I desire to offer them in bulk and have them marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 80."

Mr. HARRISON. Of course, when you offer them in evidence they are printed as part of the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. They may be, but they need not be. That was called to our attention by Mr. Walter this morning, and it was the understanding that several documents be admitted, the full list of names appearing therein would not be published, for the same reason you stated in ruling on proposed Cvetic exhibit No. 67.

Mr. HARRISON. I think exhibit 67 should go to the full committee for consideration.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your ruling on No. 80?

Mr. HARRISON. No. 80 will be received.

(The documents above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 80," are filed herewith.)⁷⁸

Mr. CVETIC. I would like to conclude my testimony with names I have not mentioned.

Mr. HARRISON. How long will it take you to do that?

Mr. CVETIC. I think 10 minutes.

Mr. HARRISON. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, in the Civil Rights Congress files which you have presented in response to the subpoena duces tecum, there was found a membership list of the Congress of American Women, which organization was cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities. I now hand you that list. Are you acquainted with the organization of this group in western Pennsylvania?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes; I am. Some of the technical work of this organization was done in the American Slav Congress office.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like you to tell us about that. Do you mean to state that part of the work of organizing the Congress of American Women was done in your office?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. The office of the American Slav Congress in Western Pennsylvania was made available to the Civil Rights Congress, Congress of American Women, to the Communist Party, and to other organizations who wanted to use it to do other technical work. To this extent, the Communist Party members active in this organization used our office. We had mimeograph machines and typewriters.

Mr. TAVENNER. What connection, if any, did the Communist Party have with the organization of the Congress of American Women in western Pennsylvania?

Mr. CVETIC. My only knowledge is that some of the active members in this organization, listed here, met at the office of the American Slav Congress from time to time with Communist Party leaders to discuss the plans of the Congress of American Women. Usually these meetings were held, however, in the offices of the Communist Party, and on various occasions when I dropped in there I would sit down and discuss some of the policies, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the list I have just handed you? First, I desire to offer it in evidence as Cvetic exhibit No. 81.

Mr. HARRISON. It will be received in evidence.

(The document above referred to, marked "Cvetic Exhibit No. 81," is filed herewith.)⁷⁹

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you state the names of any persons appearing on that list who are known to you as members of the Communist Party?

⁷⁸ See appendix.

⁷⁹ See appendix.

Mr. CVETIC. First, I would like to identify the two Communist Party members assigned by the Communist Party to direct the work from the Communist Party side. One is Mrs. Lawrence Schultz, who resides at 1527 Alabama Avenue, Dormont, Pittsburgh. The other is Mrs. Georgia Reed, wife of Sam Reed, who recently has been transferred to Erie. These two women, Communist Party members, usually carried on the technical work. They often called and asked me if they could use the office.

Other Communist Party members on this list are:

Mrs. Anna Devunich; Mrs. Milena Gachinovich, who has since gone to Yugoslavia; Eleanor Sackter; Daisy Bartl; Mary Sumrak; Miss Evelyn Abelson; Mrs. Alma Robinson; Vera Brook; and Mrs. Frances Begler. These are all members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, in going over these various documents which you have presented here with members of the staff, you have recalled a meeting, I understand, which was held in Pittsburgh in 1946 and which was addressed by William Z. Foster. Will you now describe that meeting to us?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. In the late fall or early winter of 1946, November or December 1946, the Communist Party in Pittsburgh held a meeting at the Carnegie Music Hall in North Side. William Z. Foster, the chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America, was the principal speaker. One of the main themes that he used at this particular meeting—I attended the meeting as a member of the arrangements committee and was also William Z. Foster's chauffeur, taking him to the meeting and back to the station, so I know what I am talking about—the main theme of his talk went something like this:

"If the war-makers"—and I am quoting William Z. Foster—"think they can ever defeat the Soviet Union, they have another think coming."

This was a speech in the Communist Party while our country was busy disarming, as early as late 1946. I heard William Z. Foster make that statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that statement made in private or during the course of a speech?

Mr. CVETIC. It was made during the course of his speech.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other discussion was held within the Communist Party on this subject, to your knowledge?

Mr. CVETIC. I believe I previously testified that at this particular meeting that William Z. Foster stressed the importance of setting up a new People's Party, and that all the members should work for the building of a new People's Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have a discussion with Steve Nelson, or did you hear in a conference Steve Nelson say anything regarding the leadership of the Communist Party in the Western District of Pennsylvania in the event he was not available for continued leadership?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I would like to report on a meeting I attended late last summer at 943 Liberty Avenue which Steve Nelson addressed. The particular meeting dealt with the Communist Party leadership. The meeting was addressed by Steve Nelson, who is the district organizer at the present time for the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

At this meeting Steve Nelson stressed the importance, to the leading party functionaries who were present at this meeting, that all of us should be prepared to assume leadership if and when any of the leaders of the Communist Party are deposed by any means. He elaborated on this by calling attention that we don't know when any of us may be in concentration camps, and he used such terms as the party leadership might be "decapitated" and we should be prepared to assume leadership if anyone is removed, and if an emergency situation should arise we should all be prepared to assume leadership in the party.

Whenever he referred to concentration camps and started talking about the leadership being deposed, while he did not qualify himself, Steve Nelson always did refer in conversations to this country as the enemy, and my only inference from his instructions to be followed in an "emergency situation" was that he meant in case of war between the Soviet Union and the United States. ✓

Mr. TAVENNER. You have reviewed these records carefully, have you not?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the basis of your further study of the records produced under the subpoena duces tecum, can you identify as members of the Communist Party persons in addition to those already identified by you?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I would be glad to do that.

First, something I think would be of interest to the committee, in Communist Party meetings whenever we refer to Premier Joseph Stalin, he is always Comrade Stalin. He is always Comrade Stalin in our meetings. That is absolute.

I would like to identify the following as Communist Party members and state my reasons for stating they are members:

James Bashista: I have attended Communist Party functionary meetings with him at 943 Liberty Avenue.

Jerome Benton: He also uses the name of Jerry Benton. In 1943, 1944, and 1945, Jerry Benton was a Communist Party organizer in McKeesport, Pa. He taught me in one of the first party schools I went to.

George Brkljacic: I used to collect his party dues. He lived in McKees Rocks, Pa. He is now in Yugoslavia.

Charlotte Chandler: She was a Communist Party organizer in the Professional Branch, 1943 to 1945, and active in the American Soviet Friendship Council.

Mrs. Judy Cogan—C-o-g-a-n or K-o-g-a-n: She was secretary of the professional branch of the Communist Party in 1943 and 1944 when I first got into the party.

Betty Drake: She has been active for the Communist Party in UE in East Pittsburgh.

Dorothy Farraday: Formerly a member of the South Side Club of the Communist Party. She has married and left the city in the past year.

Tony Gerlach, Jr., New York City: Active in the youth movement.

Mary Golden: Wife of Hamp Golden, previously identified. Active in women's organizations.

Carolyn Hart: Communist Party member active in the professional branch in 1943 and 1945.

Eric Walter Hubscher, husband of Martha Hubscher: I have attended Communist party meetings with him.

Pete Knezevich, from Farrell, Pa.: A member of the district committee of the Communist Party and the key figure for the Communist Party in the Farrell-Sharon area.

Mac Mandell, husband of Florence Mandell, previously identified, and a former member of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, and a former secretary of the professional branch of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Agnes Mankin: A member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party. She is the wife of Joe Mankin.

Anne Markovich: She is the wife of Mirko Markovich, and she and Mirko are now in Yugoslavia.

Eilene Matanic, the wife of Paul: She is a member of the Communist Party. Two years ago, under her maiden name, she attended a youth festival in Prague.

John Middleton: A national organizer for the International Workers Order.

Virginia Muir: Office secretary to George Pirinsky, New York City. George Pirinsky is the national executive secretary of the American Slav Congress.

Ludwig Mutz, New York City: Active in nationality work in that area.

"Ricky"—and that is a nickname—Roth, sister of Esther Roth: She is married and now in California.

Jack Shore, and also Barbara Shore, who were members of the professional branch when I joined the party in 1943 and 1944, and Jack at that time was studying at Carnegie Tech.

Anton Svec, 21050 Goller, Cleveland, Ohio: Active in the UAW in Cleveland and also in nationality work.

Wilbur White, Erie, Pa.: A former member of the district committee on the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

Dr. Joseph Wolfe, optometrist, from East End, Pittsburgh: He attended the recent Mexico peace conference.

John Wassell and his wife, Mary Wassell, from California, Pa.

Charles Young and his wife Ruth Young: They were members of the professional branch of the Communist Party. I collected dues from both of them. They are now residing in the State of Virginia. They left in 1945 or 1946 to go to Virginia. At the time they lived in Pittsburgh. Ruth Young worked for the United States Employment Service.

Here are three additional ones:

Rachel Cooper: A member of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh.

Rudy Martonovich, who was one of the editors of the Language Press, 1916 East Street. He is now in Yugoslavia.

Ida May Adams, with whom I have attended at least two Communist Party functionary meetings.

I would like to add the name of Frank Modic of Detroit, Mich., who was a Communist Party member active in UAW and nationality work in and around Detroit.

On the basis of what I have here, this concludes my testimony.

Mr. HARRISON. I feel I express the feeling of all the members of this committee, from what I have heard the other members say and

from what I feel myself, that this committee is deeply grateful to you for your testimony of the last few days or week. Your testimony is important in uncovering the subversive activities that are so extensive in our country. In view of the tendency of a great many of our loyal people, including prominent public officials and editorial writers, to minimize and depreciate the danger of subversive activities in this country, I wish that every American could have the benefit of hearing your testimony. I believe that, if they did, there would not be such determined opposition to legislation designed within our constitutional framework to put the power of this Government to work to protect it from destruction by enemies from within.

Your conduct through the years has demonstrated a courage and a patriotism that entitled you to the gratitude of the American public. I wish you success in life.

(Thereupon, at 4:45 p. m. on Tuesday, March 14, 1950, the hearing was adjourned.)

**EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF WESTERN PENN-
SYLVANIA BASED UPON TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW
CVETIC (UNDERCOVER AGENT)**

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1950

**UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARING**

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 4 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding until arrival of Hon. John S. Wood (chairman).

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman, arriving as noted), Francis E. Walter, Francis Case, Harold H. Velde, and Bernard W. Kearney (arriving as noted).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William Jackson Jones, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. Are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Cvetic, will you raise your right hand. You swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CVETIC. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Cvetic, you have previously testified before this committee concerning Communist Party activities in and around Pittsburgh, Pa. This afternoon we would like to interrogate you concerning Communist Party activities in Johnstown and Portage, Pa., and their surrounding areas. Are you acquainted with Communist Party activities in those localities, and, if so, what has been your opportunity to learn of Communist activities in those communities?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, I am, at least to a limited degree, acquainted with Communist Party activities in those communities which are located in Cambria County and surrounding counties, and the purpose of the Communist Party in this area, as it is in all industrial sections, is to infiltrate the unions for the purpose of carrying their program into these unions, and of course their ultimate objective is to use them as a base with which to overthrow the United States Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your opportunity to observe Communist activity in those communities?

Mr. CVETIC. Well, I have been assigned by the district office of the Communist Party in Western Pennsylvania on various occasions to go to Cambria County and carry the party line to the Communist Party members in that area.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you go to Cambria County in response to those instructions which you received?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly describe to the committee what occurred on these visits that you made to Cambria County?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. These meetings were usually called by the district organizer of the Communist Party out of the district office in Pittsburgh, and while I was in the Communist Party I was sent to Cambria County on several occasions, either by Roy Hudson, Steve Nelson, Joe Godfrey, or Max Weiss, all of whom were Communist Party functionaries in western Pennsylvania. I was sent to the Cambria County district on many occasions to meet with Communist Party members there and to carry the party line to them. Usually this would take place when there was some new change in the party line, or when we had a fund drive for the Communist Party, or when we were organizing a new drive for the Sunday and Daily Worker. Also, I was to take up the routine business of collecting the dues from the party members up there. Dues collection and membership recruiting were always a part of a Communist Party meeting agenda.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe to the committee some of these meetings which you attended, and name, if you can, those who were present at those meetings and were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I previously testified to having met with John Matelesko—that is spelled M-a-t-e-l-e-s-k-o; it is also spelled M-a-t-l-e-s-k-a; and he also uses the name of M-a-t-l-e-s—and his wife Mary. I previously testified that both of these persons are members of the Communist Party.

Some of the other persons who attended the meetings up there and helped to organize them were: A person I knew as R. J. Hardin, H-a-r-d-i-n. Hardin was the Communist Party organizer for Cambria County. The way I knew this, we would have district committee meetings of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, and usually he would be the one from Cambria County who would be invited to attend the meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he attend the meetings in response to the invitations?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I attended many meetings with Hardin.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, and also in Johnstown. Hardin lives in Ebensburg.

Mr. CASE. I am not sufficiently familiar with Pennsylvania counties and towns to know if Johnstown is in Cambria County. Is it?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes, and Ebensburg is also in Cambria County.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the community known as Portage?

Mr. CVETIC. That is in Cambria County.

Mr. TAVENNER. How far is Johnstown from Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. About 75 miles; 70 to 75 miles, approximately.

Mr. TAVENNER. In which direction?

Mr. CVETIC. Going east of Pittsburgh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify the approximate time when the meetings occurred in Johnstown, which you attended?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. One of the first meetings I attended up there was as early as 1945, and I was asked by the district office of the Communist Party to go there once or twice a year. The reason I wasn't asked to go more often, different organizers in the Communist Party were asked to go to Johnstown. Sometimes it was Jim Dolsen; sometimes it would be Roy Hudson himself; more recently Bill Albertson or Steve Nelson would go to Johnstown. The last time I was asked to go there was about 3 months ago, but the plans were changed and somebody else was sent up.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time you went up there?

Mr. CVETIC. About 2 years ago, going up for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Between 1945 and the period 2 years ago, how frequently do you think you were there?

Mr. CVETIC. I visited party members up there perhaps a dozen or more times.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned R. J. Hardin as being one of those who attended Communist Party meetings with you in Pittsburgh and Johnstown.

Mr. CVETIC. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his official position in the Communist Party at Johnstown, if you know?

Mr. CVETIC. He was the organizer for the Cambria County area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any others who attended the meetings that you attended at that place?

Mr. CVETIC. I went to a taxidermist shop in Johnstown and collected Communist Party dues from a man whose last name was Easterbrook, but I never knew his first name. He operated a taxidermist shop in Johnstown.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his name?

Mr. CVETIC. E-a-s-t-e-r-b-r-o-o-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. All one word?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I personally collected party dues from him. Then I collected party dues from a Mike Milkovich, M-i-l-k-o-v-i-c-h. I collected party dues and also Communist Party contributions from Mr. Milkovich. This has been some 3 years ago and I don't know what his party status is now, but I did collect Communist Party dues and contributions from him. He operates a wholesale pop distributing business in Johnstown.

Then I attended Communist Party meetings with Ann Slobodjian, S-l-o-b-o-d-j-i-a-n. She is active in the International Workers' Order in and around Johnstown.

Mr. TAVENNER. What business was conducted, if you can recall, at any of these meetings you attended?

Mr. CVETIC. My job as a party organizer was to collect dues from party members, and to collect contributions to the Communist Party, and bring them back to Pittsburgh. When I attended these meetings I usually led the meetings in the discussions and made sure I got all the dues and contributions, and turned them in to the Pittsburgh district office. Some of these members I visited at their homes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to attending the meetings you have described in Johnstown, did you also attend meetings at Portage?

Mr. CVETIC. I attended meetings in and around Johnstown, and attended meetings in Portage and met comrades from coal mining towns in and around there. Since these men were afraid of retribution from the United Mine Workers, because there is a clause in its constitution that anybody belonging to the Communist Party will be automatically ousted from the United Mine Workers, their last names were usually kept secret, even from their own party members. While I met with 8 or 10 at a time, I never learned their last names, only their first names.

Mr. TAVENNER. So you are unable to identify those Communist Party members?

Mr. CVETIC. That is right, for the reason they never used their last names.

Mr. WALTER. Isn't it a fact that the Communist Party has been unable to recruit very many coal miners, because the miners are fearful lest they lost their jobs?

Mr. CVETIC. That is one of the reasons. The United Mine Workers does have that clause in its constitution, and it is waging an untiring fight against communism. Once when I spoke at a meeting in West Brownsville, in Washington County, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, I had to run for my life. I was making a Communist speech. It isn't safe to make a Communist speech to the coal miners.

Mr. CASE. Didn't you tell us in your previous testimony that in the recent strike packages of food were sent from New York to the coal mining districts, and they were giving out food with one hand and Communist Party literature with the other hand?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Have you been there recently so that you know how that strategy worked?

Mr. CVETIC. My first knowledge of this came when I was already working on my testimony to come before this committee. I met with Bill Gordon, Communist Party member in western Pennsylvania, and he tried to involve me in the coal mining district. He said their program was to hand out a can of food with one hand and the Daily Worker with the other. He said if the miners accepted the can of food they could not turn down the Daily Worker. That was their program on Wednesday. The following day the first load of food came down from New York. The truck came loaded down with food and Daily Workers, and I understand the miners took the food and burned the Daily Workers and told the party members to get out of there. I think a lot of this was because of the exposé we made before this committee.

Mr. CASE. You think the testimony here helped to expose the method?

Mr. CVETIC. It was very instrumental in exposing them; very instrumental.

Mr. VELDE. What type of persons belonged to the party in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CVETIC. In Pittsburgh?

Mr. VELDE. And Johnstown.

Mr. CVETIC. You mean from a nationality background?

Mr. VELDE. Occupational.

Mr. CVETIC. Steel workers, coal miners, professional people, clerical workers; we had a well-rounded-out party. As to age, while in the nationality groups the party was growing with members up past the 60's, we were able to recruit some youth into the party.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know of any Government employees, or persons who had been Government employees, who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Yes. I testified to that before this committee, that there were some Government employees, and I mentioned them by name.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall now who they were?

Mr. CVETIC. One former Government employee who was instrumental in getting me in the Communist Party was Sidney Horwitz. He was working in the United States Employment Service, where I was employed at the time in Pittsburgh.

(Representative Kearney enters hearing room.)

Mr. VELDE. Is he still with the Employment Service?

Mr. CVETIC. No. The last I heard of him, he was teaching English at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, and I understand Duquesne gave him the choice of denying he was a member of the Communist Party or resigning, and I understand he resigned.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall any other Government employees who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CVETIC. Dorothy Sloan also worked in the United States Employment Service. She also left the Employment Service at there of the Government and she went to the west coast.

Mr. WALTER. Was there a Communist cell in Johnstown?

Mr. CVETIC. Right in Johnstown?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. CVETIC. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Did you mention, in your previous testimony, Victor Sharenkoff?

(Representative Wood enters hearing room.)

Mr. CVETIC. I was on the Nationality Commission of the Party, USA, and I met a Dr. Victor Sharenkoff in this. In recent years this cell has been led by Sam Milgrom.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the name.

Mr. CVETIC. M-i-l-g-r-o-m.

Mr. VELDE. Going back to Victor Sharenkoff?

Mr. CVETIC. I knew him as a leader of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

Mr. VELDE. Did he have any official connection with the United States Government?

Mr. CVETIC. While I have never had absolute proof, I have been informed he either was employed by the State Department or had some status with the State Department at one time. Of my own knowledge knew that, except I recollect that with Dr. Sharenkoff he stated or somebody stated he was with the State Department. The reason I placed stress on Dr. Sharenkoff is because he does meet with Sam Milgrom, and Sam Milgrom, as reported to the FBI, is head of the Communist Party in the United States and has to a large extent replaced Peters. He stays pretty much in the background, but I attended a Communist Party meeting in Chicago where Gerhart Eisler was present, and I heard Milgrom tell Eisler what to do, so I figured Milgrom was the boss.

Mr. CVETIC. No; I didn't.

Mr. TAVENER. Do you have knowledge of a Communist cell presently existing and operating in the Bethlehem Steel plant at Johnstown, Pa.?

Mr. CVETIC. I know a Communist cell operates there. Several of the party members with whom I met in Johnstown have so informed me. While I have never met with the cell as an organizer, various party members with whom I met in Johnstown have told me: "We have several members working in the Bethlehem plant." But I have no knowledge of how they function. I never personally met with a cell.

Mr. HAVENER. When these various meetings were called which you attended in Johnstown and Cambria County, will you tell us who the instruments in making the calls for the meetings?

ETIC. I was always instructed by the district organizer for Anstown, but when I got there it was either Mr. Hardin or Matelesko who would meet me at the train or take me around the Ambria County area. They were always responsible for calling Communist Party meetings, and as far as I know they are still in Ambria County.

Q. You have given us the initials of Mr. Hardin. Did you give us the first name of the other individual you mentioned?

10 VETTER. John Matelesko.

CAYENER. Will you spell it again, please?

Q. It is spelled three ways, M-a-t-e-l-e-s-k-o, or M-a-t-e-l-e-s. As for Nardin, the man who knew him was by the initials, R. J. Harlan.

ER. Do you recall that a picnic was sponsored by the
in the summer of 1949 in Cambria County,

present at the picnic, but I recall the picnic
maker there.

were to be a speaker there?

What occurred at this picnic?

A picnic was organized for the purpose of raising money for George Pirinsky, P-i-r-i-n-s-k-y, national secretary of the American Slav Congress, who at that time was being detained by the immigration authorities. I was to be a

and was delayed because I couldn't make connections
down—I don't remember the name of the town—and in my
case, just delay. I remember that I was in the town, and that

ence Jim Dolsen, a Communist Party organizer, addressed the public and was able to raise over \$100 for the defense of George Pirin-

I know that because Jim Dolsen turned the money over to me, I mailed it to the national office.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the strength of the Communist Party in Cambria County when you were in attendance?

Best Copy Available

CONTENTS

June 22, 1950: Testimony of Matthew Cvetie	Page
September 28, 1950: Testimony of Matthew Cvetie	3007
October 13, 1950: Testimony of William Jackson Jones	3029
October 21, 1950: Testimony of Matthew Cvetie	3073
	3143

EXHIBITS

Cvetie Exhibit No. 82—Photostat of letter dated August 1, 1950, from Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office, to All Districts, with attached photostat of "Report to National Committee Conference—July 13, 1950"	3030
Cvetie Exhibit No. 83—Photostat of "Outline Guide for Speakers at Club Meetings, Outdo Meetings, Leaflet Writers, Etc. (reprinted by C. P., Eastern Pennsylvania)—Material on the Korean Situation—Prepared by the National Education Department, CPUSA, July 1, 1950"	3043
Cvetie Exhibit No. 84—Photostat of "Plan of Work for the J & L Club for 1947"	3055
Cvetie Exhibit No. 85—Photostat of "Concentration Plan of Work for the Homestead Top Club for 1947"	3058
Cvetie Exhibit No. 86—Photostat of "By-Laws of the Western Pennsylvania District of the Communist Party, U. S. A."	3061
Cvetie Exhibit No. 87—Photostat of letter dated August 10, 1950, from Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office to All Districts	3063
Cvetie Exhibit No. 88—Photostat of letter dated August 9, 1950, from Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office, to All Districts	3065
Cvetie Exhibit No. 89—Photostat of "Memorandum on Deportation and Justice Department Policy," dated January 20, 1947	3066
Cvetie Exhibit No. 90—Photostat of "Memorandum of the State Review Commission—Regarding the need for increased vigilance in combatting the attacks of the FBI on the democratic rights of Communists and all Progressives"	3067
Cvetie Exhibit No. 91—Photostat of addresses of Communist Party headquarters in the United States, with names of principal officers	3071
Cvetie Exhibit No. 92—"Instructor's Outline for Orientation Course," prepared by National Education Commission, Communist Party, U. S. A.	3074
Cvetie Exhibit No. 93—"Fundamentals of Marxism," consisting of nine lessons	3085
Cvetie Exhibit No. 94—"Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania"	3110
Cvetie Exhibit No. 95—"Memorandum on Youth Work and Policy—Adopted by National Board, November 29, 1945"	3113
Cvetie Exhibit No. 96—"Discussion Outline for the Fight Against the Mundt-Nixon Bill," issued by National Educational Department, Communist Party	3117
Cvetie Exhibit No. 97—"Two Speeches by Joseph Stalin" (translated for the first time in English), made in 1926, issued by National Education Department, Communist Party	3122
Cvetie Exhibit No. 98—"Plan of Work of National Committee, CPUSA—July 15—Labor Day, 1950"	3133
Cvetie Exhibit No. 99—"A Guide to the Club—Its Role in Building the United Front in 1950," a handbook for Communist club officers, prepared by Carl Dorfman, issued by National Organization Department, Communist Party	3155

Best Copy Available

CONTENTS

	Page
Cvetic Exhibit No. 100—Letter dated June 7, 1950, on letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office, from Henry Winston to Steve Nelson	3136
Cvetic Exhibit No. 101—Letter dated July 6, 1950, on letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office, from Carl Reinstein to "Dear Comrade Steve"	3137
Cvetic Exhibit No. 102—Letter dated July 7, 1950, on letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., National Office, from Carl Reinstein, treasurer, to Steve Nelson, District 5, Western Pennsylvania	3137
Cvetic Exhibit No. 103—Letter dated July 28, 1950, on letterhead of Communist Party, U. S. A., national office, from Carl Reinstein to "Dear Comrade," Western Pennsylvania	3137
Cvetic Exhibit No. 104—Document consisting of three and one-fourth pages, not captioned, pertaining to Stockholm Peace Pledge and the Daily Worker, etc.	3138
Cvetic Exhibit No. 105—"The World Speaks Out for Peace—as Christians We Sign the World Peace Appeal—A Manifesto of Free Protestants"	3141

72-409-184

11. Re testimony - Page 1315, Last Paragraph, through
Page 1316, Paragraph 5.

"Mr. Cvetic: Well, I attended a meeting in Chicago of national executives of the Civil Rights Congress in the spring of 1949, either in the spring or early summer of 1949. To this meeting came the executives from the entire country. We had about 30 executive secretaries. I represented the Western Pennsylvania area of the Civil Rights Congress. William Patterson, national executive secretary, was chairman of the meeting. Another who was there was Harold Christoffel; also, Mr. Marshall, who at that time was one of the top officials of the Civil Rights Congress.

"Mr. Tavenner: What Marshall is that?

"Mr. Cvetic: I don't recollect his first name. At any rate, at this particular meeting in Chicago, it was called for the purpose of taking up the main topic, and that was the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

"In the course of the discussions which developed in the 2 days, several of the people who attended these meetings complained bitterly because some of the money which was raised for other causes was deflected to the defense of the Communist leadership. In one particular case there was a fund of over \$20,000 raised for a specific campaign, and no record was ever available that the money was used for the particular purpose. From all indications and apologies by top officials, this fund was deflected to the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

"The conclusion was reached at this meeting that from then on money would be used for the purpose for which it was raised. We were working and raising funds for many cases, the Leon Josephson case and many others, and from the discussions at this meeting it was brought out that much of the money raised for these cases was deflected to the Communist leadership defense."

CVETIC is apparently referring to a conference of secretaries and functionaries of the Civil Rights Congress held at Chicago, Illinois, on June 4, and 5, 1949, concerning which he submitted a report on June 7, 1949. According to that report, 28 secretaries and visitors attended said conference, and GEORGE MARSHALL, Chairman of the Board of Directors - not WILLIAM PATTERSON - was chairman of the conference sessions. CVETIC'S report did not set out that

ED CHRISTOFFEL attended this conference but did advise that one HAROLD -- present. By report dated July 18, 1949 CVETIC advised that the individual named to as HAROLD was actually HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL.

Although the above report of CVETIC indicated that there was some discussion at the conference concerning the defense of the CP leadership, it is out that the conference was called to critically re-examine the work of the local CRC chapters and the national office in order to build the national organization.

CVETIC'S report set out that it was decided that funds raised during a particular campaign should be used for the purpose for which the campaign was initiated and that the national CRC office and local chapters should refrain from using money in one specific campaign for other activities. The above report did not indicate that such funds were deflected to the defense of the CP leadership and contained no mention of a \$20,000 fund which was deflected.

In a report dated October 30, 1949 CVETIC advised that a meeting of leading party members was held at 943 Liberty Avenue, on October 29, 1949. During the course of same STEVE NELSON mentioned that \$8,000 of the local bail bond fund had been raised in the district and that \$20,000 was needed. This, however, was a CP fund and not a CRC fund. CVETIC'S report did not mention the deflection of any funds to other purposes.

12. Re testimony - Page 1316, Paragraphs 10 and 11.

"Mr. Tavenner: Do you recall the purpose for which the fund of \$20,000 was raised which you said it was suspected had been diverted to the defense of the Communist leaders?

"Mr. Cvetic: The amount, as I recollect, was around \$23,000. Without my notes, which I turned over to the FBI, I don't remember the specifics on it. As soon as I would get through with a meeting, I would file my reports and then get started on the next day's work."

As set out above CVETIC'S report dated June 7, 1949 with regard to a CRC conference held at Chicago, Illinois, on June 4 and 5, 1949, did not mention the deflection of a \$20,000 fund and no information regarding this fund or a \$23,000 fund can be located in the reports which he submitted to this office.

13. Re testimony - Page 1324, Paragraphs 10-13.

"Mr. Tavenner: Do you recall whether the Reverend Vicslav Gachinovich was a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: At that time he sat down with members of the nationality commission separate and aside. Because of his position, he met with Mr. Linovich, or he met with myself and other leaders, for the purpose of discussing this particular project.

"Mr. Tavenner: But he was not a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: Not at that time; no."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which set out that Reverend VICSILAV GACHINOVICH was a member of the Nationality (National groups) Commission at any time.

14. Re testimony - Page 1327, Paragraph 4-6.

"Mr. Cvetic: I know in my previous testimony I identified a doctor I understood was with the State Department some time ago. I don't know whether he is still there.

"Mr. Harrison: Who is he?

"Mr. Cvetic: Dr. Victor Sharenkoff."

No reports submitted by CVETIC can be located which set out that VICTOR SHARENKOFF is or was an employee of the State Department.

15. Re testimony - Page 1330, Paragraph 19, to
Page 1331, Paragraph 29.

"Mr. Cvetic: This is a list of delegates to the American Slav Congress National Convention held in Pittsburgh in September 1946. The following are known Communist Party members, and I am testifying to this on the basis of Communist Party members with whom I have attended committee or functionary meetings of the Communist Party:

"Frank Tadej, T-a-d-e-j -- he also spells it T-a-d-y;
 "Stephen Mirkovich;
 "Zare Werlinich;
 "Anthony Skvarich;
 "Joe Sumrak;
 "Mary Sumrak;
 "N.S. Loven, who uses the name of Steve Loven, one of the leaders
 of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh who went to Yugoslavia about 2 years ago.
 "Stephen Devunich;
 "Joseph Migalich;
 "Arthur Bartl;
 "Geo Fishers;
 "Louis Filotich;
 "Frank Borich;
 "Mike Dudash;
 "Jadislav Sobol, from Etna, Pa.
 "John Matelesko, M-a-t-e-l-e-s-k-o, who also uses the name Matles,
 M-a-t-l-e-s, from Conemaugh, Pa., in Cambria County.
 "Matthew Lepovich, from Bentleyville, Pa. I know him to be a member
 because I attended Communist Party meetings in Washington County with him at the
 home of Harold Spencer, who is also a Communist Party member. I wanted to
 qualify this man because he is a deputy sheriff in Washington County.
 "Mr. Tavernier: Who is the person referred to as a deputy sheriff?
 "Mr. Cvetic: Matthew Lepovich.
 (continuing to name Communists:) Steve Merges;
 Alexander Makushenko;
 "Anton Cipic;
 "Rev. Vioslav Gachinovich;
 "Mike Godich;
 "Anthony Minarich;
 "Martin Krasich;
 "Milo Mamula;
 "Mare Susnjar;
 "Paul Kluvo;
 "Michael Hamslak;
 "John Kozalski, South Side, Pittsburgh;
 "Calvin Brook;
 "Daisy Lolich. She is married now and her name is Bartl.
 "Rev. Nikola Drenovac, a member of the Communist Party. He is now
 in Yugoslavia.
 "Nicholas Baltich;
 "Milena Gachinovich. She is the wife of Rev. Gachinovich and she
 is also in Yugoslavia."

A thorough review of the files in this office has failed to locate a complete list of the Pittsburgh delegates to the 1946 American Slav Conference National Convention (3rd American Slav Congress.) It is to be noted, however, that CVERIC'S testimony on this point is confused. According to reports submitted by CVERIC to this office and the New York Office the Third American Slav Congress was held on September 20-22, 1946 at New York, N. Y. From information furnished by CVERIC, to the New York Office during the course of said conference a list of five Pittsburgh delegates can be compiled. One of these delegates reported by CVERIC was GEORGE WITKOVICH who was previously identified by CVERIC before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a CP member. It is noted, however, that in this portion of the testimony appearing on pages 1330 and 1331 CVERIC does not include WITKOVICH as one of the CP delegates to the 1946 American Slav Congress National Convention.

According to reports submitted to this office by CVERIC and other informants in 1944 the American Slav Congress National Convention (2nd American Slav Congress) was held at Pittsburgh on September 23 and 24, 1944. This office maintains a complete list of delegates to the 1944 Congress, same having been furnished by [redacted] of known reliability. A check of this list, however, reflects that it is not identical with the list concerning which CVERIC testified on pages 1330 and 1331.

b7D

16. Re testimony - Page 1332, Paragraph 22.

"Mr. Cvetic: This Western Pennsylvania committee is a committee selected from the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania." (With regard to persons elected at a quarterly meeting of the American Slav Congress held on May 25, 1947, at the Mayfair Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

b7D

It would appear that CVERIC does not recall what type of committee he is describing here. No report submitted by CVERIC can be located regarding this meeting or this committee. It is noted, however, that [redacted] of known reliability, reported on May 27, 1947 that during the course of the American Slav Congress Quarterly Conference held at the Mayfair Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., on May 25, 1947, provisional committees were set up for the purpose of getting youth interested in the ASC.

It would appear that the persons named by CVERIC were persons chosen for these provisional committees.

17. Re testimony - Page 1340, Paragraphs 4-11.

"Mr. Tavenner: Mr. Cvetic, in going over these various documents which you have presented here with members of the staff, you have recalled a meeting, I understand, which was held in Pittsburgh in 1946 and which was addressed by William Z. Foster. Will you now describe that meeting to us?"

"Mr. Cvetic: In the late fall or early winter of 1946, November or December 1946, the Communist Party in Pittsburgh held a meeting at the Carnegie Music Hall in North Side. William Z. Foster, the chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America, was the principal speaker. One of the main themes that he used at this particular meeting--I attended the meeting as a member of the arrangements committee and was also William Z. Foster's chauffeur, taking him to the meeting and back to the station, so I know what I am talking about--the main theme of his talk went something like this:

"If the war-makers"--and I am quoting William Z. Foster--"think they can ever defeat the Soviet Union, they have another think coming."

"This was a speech in the Communist Party while our country was busy disarming, as early as late 1946. I heard William Z. Foster make that statement."

"Mr. Tavenner: Was that statement made in private or during the course of a speech?"

"Mr. Cvetic: It was made during the course of his speech."

"Mr. Tavenner: What other discussion was held within the Communist Party on this subject, to your knowledge?"

"Mr. Cvetic: I believe I previously testified that at this particular meeting that William Z. Foster stressed the importance of setting up a new People's Party, and that all the members should work for the building of a new People's Party."

By report dated November 26, 1945 CVETIC advised that a William Z. Foster Mass Meeting had been held at the Carnegie Music Hall, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. on November 25, 1945, and that he had driven Foster, the principal speaker, to and from this meeting.

The above report set out: "William Z. Foster denounced reactionary government of United States for keeping troops in China, in his speech— stressed importance of support to G.M. and other strikers and also stressed support for steel in its fight for wage increase of 30% or \$2.00 a day. On atomic bomb said U.S. should give it to the United Nations—warned if U.S. does not give it these countries will get it anyhow. Tenor of speech was forceful and the most radical in three years in the CP."

The above report of CVETIC contains no further information regarding FOSTER'S address.

A resume of the information regarding this meeting as reported by Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] November 25, 1945, [redacted] of known reliability. November 25, 1945, [redacted] of known reliability, November 27, 1945, [redacted] of known reliability, November 25, 1945, and Bureau Informant [redacted] of known reliability, November 25, 1945, reflects the following with regard to the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER MASS MEETING held on November 25, 1945:

b6
b7C
b7D

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, the principal speaker of the evening, declared that the Truman Administration was surrendering to reaction and imperialism. He contended that TRUMAN was not fighting for his proposals and that Congress was "slashing to pieces" the President's full employment program.

FOSTER continued that the blame for the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union should be placed at the door step of the State Department of the United States which was taking its orders from the reactionaries; that the reactionaries in the United States wanted to use their huge Navy and Air Force and the atomic bomb to destroy the Soviet Union because the latter desired to be surrounded by free nations. He stated that the Soviet Union had paid a terrible price in blood to help Democracy conquer Nazi Germany and Japan; that thereafter the United States and Great Britain were trying to re-establish a reactionary Germany and the United States was running the whole show in Japan, telling the rest of the world to keep hands off. FOSTER mentioned that American soldiers in China were even fighting the Chinese Communists and that the latter had furnished the only organized resistance to the Japs. He asserted that American soldiers had no business in China; that the present administration was waving a big imperialistic stick and that the American people should demand that all American soldiers be withdrawn from China by Christmas, 1945.

With regard to the atomic bomb FOSTER stated that its secret should be shared by all large nations and that it should be given to the Security Council of the United Nations. If this action was not taken, FOSTER contended that it would lead to horrible results inasmuch as other nations could learn the secret any way; that Russia would not sit idly by and let the imperialistic countries keep the atomic secret.

FOSTER continued that preparations for World War III were already in the making and that the imperialists in the United States and Great Britain were to be blamed.

The speaker devoted considerable time to pointing out what the Communists had accomplished all over the world. He said that the Communists practically control the French Government and that it was only a matter of TIME until the same situation prevailed in Italy and Germany; that the Balkan states were communist. FOSTER argued that that was the reason the capitalists were yelling about the Communist menace; but that no one had anything to fear from the Communists except the imperialists and the sooner the latter because extinct the sooner peace would come to the world. FOSTER related that it was the aim of the American Communist Party to nationalize all the major industries; that the free enterprise system was a joke. He predicted that the struggle of the workers for higher wages and shorter hours would lead to the abolition of capitalism; that the Communist Party must lead the workers in this struggle, in order to convince the people that capitalism should be replaced by communism. He asserted that the Communist Party was NO longer a minority party in many nations; that it was growing in America and would continue to grow until it was the majority party. He concluded that the Communists in Pittsburgh were following the pattern of the Communists all over the world by building the Party to a stage where it could stand alongside any party.

By report dated March 10, 1946 CVERIC advised that a WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Mass Meeting had been held on March 10, 1946, at the Henry Clay Frick Elementary School, Fifth Avenue and Thackeray Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. Said report set out that during the course of the principal address WILLIAM Z. FOSTER "Accused the American Government as acting aggressively and unfriendly and referred to the Soviet Union as a country who wants to be friendly, and also that we cannot defeat her if we fight her.....The entire speech WAS colored with defeatism as regards a war if it should come and the certain defeat this country would suffer."

It is noted that OVERTIC did not include any information concerning the importance of setting up a new People's Party in this report but he did set out that FOSTER made "An appeal for recruits into the Communist Party - stressed the importance of a strong Communist Party."

It is further noted that reports submitted concerning the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Mass Meeting held on March 10, 1946, as submitted by Special Agent [redacted] March 10, 1946, [redacted] of known reliability, March 10, 1946, [redacted] of known reliability, April 4, 1946, and Bureau Informant [redacted] of known reliability, March 10, 1946, did not contain any information to the effect that FOSTER stressed the importance of setting up a new People's Party.

It would appear that OVERTIC'S testimony with regard to the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER meeting held in Pittsburgh in the late fall or early winter of 1946 is both confused and erroneous.

18. Re testimony - Page 1340, Paragraph 12, through
Page 1341, Paragraph 2.

Mr. Tavenner: Did you ever have a discussion with Steve Nelson, or did you hear in a conference Steve Nelson say anything regarding the leadership of the Communist Party in the Western District of Pennsylvania in the event he was not available for continued leadership?

Mr. Overtic: Yes. I would like to report on a meeting I attended late last summer at 943 Liberty Avenue which Steve Nelson addressed. The particular meeting dealt with the Communist Party leadership. The meeting was addressed by Steve Nelson, who is the district organizer at the present time for the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

"At this meeting Steve Nelson stressed the importance, to the leading party functionaries who were present at this meeting, that all of us should be prepared to assume leadership if and when any of the leaders of the Communist Party are deposed by any means. He elaborated on this by calling attention that we don't know when any of us may be in concentration camps, and he used such terms as the party leadership might be 'decapitated' and we should be prepared to assume leadership if anyone is removed, and in an emergency situation should arise we should all be prepared to assume leadership in the party."

b6
b7C
b7D

"Whenever he referred to concentration camps and started talking about the leadership being deposed, while he did not qualify himself, Steve Nelson always did refer in conversations to this country as the enemy, and my only inference from his instructions to be followed in an 'emergency situation' was that he meant in case of war between the Soviet Union and the United States."

CVETIC is apparently referring to a District Conference of the CP of Western Pennsylvania held at 943 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., on September 25, 1949 and reported by him on September 26, 1949.

His report regarding this conference does not set out that STEVE NELSON mentioned concentration camps but does state "Nelson also said in dealing with the Party leadership The secondary leadership of the Party conducted the plenum in absence of our leaders, four of whom are in jail and one, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who is in Paris. Nelson said it shows they cannot behold our party."

CUDI PI-26, of known reliability, reported on the above meeting but no substantiation of CVETIC'S testimony is contained in said informant's report.

With regard to STEVE NELSON referring to this country "as the enemy" CVETIC'S only reports tending to substantiate this testimony are as follows:

In a report dated February 16, 1949 CVETIC advised that while lunching with STEVE NELSON at Pittsburgh, on that date, NELSON in speaking of organizing a class of new Party recruits among youth and steel workers, stated, "The new members will be encouraged to ask some of the questions the enemy is raising, such as the Mindszenty Trial, etc."

In a report dated July 29, 1949 CVETIC advised that a meeting of the CP functionaries was held at 943 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., on July 28, 1949. During the course of this meeting, "Steve Nelson stated in his report that the United States is meddling in many other countries both economically and politically. The North Atlantic Pact and the proposed military aid program of (President) Truman brings the threat of war closer. The American imperialists are trying to dominate the world—but they will not succeed. This attack of our enemy is being answered every day with victories in China....."

In another report dated November 13, 1949, CVETIC advised that NELSON, while discussing recruiting at a district conference of the CP of Western Pennsylvania held at Pittsburgh on November 12, 1949, stated, "Anyone who is waiting for things to get easier before they start working

better forget about it, comrades. Things are not going to get easier, they are going to get tougher and we might as well face it. Our enemy which has been defeated on the International front will sharpen its attack on us in this country, make no mistake about that."

19. Re testimony - Page 1341, Paragraph 11.

"Mr. Cvetic (listing Communist Party members) George Brkljacic: I used to collect his party dues. He lived in McKees Rocks, Pa. He is now in Yugoslavia."

No report submitted by CVERIC can be located which sets out that he collected dues from BRKLJACIC or that the latter is now in Yugoslavia. It is noted that no active investigation of BRKLJACIC has ever been conducted by this office.

20. Re testimony - Page 1342, Paragraph 1.

Mr. Cvetic (listing Communist Party members) Eric Walter Hubscher, husband of Martha Hubscher: I have attended Communist Party meetings with him."

By report dated July 21, 1946 CVERIC advised that HUBSCHER had attended a CP picnic at Linden Grove, Castle Shannon, Pa. It is noted that [redacted] of known reliability, also reported that HUBSCHER was present at this picnic.

b7D

By report dated July 18, 1949 CVERIC advised that HUBSCHER had attended the Bill of Rights Conference held at New York, New York on July 17 and 18, 1949.

No further reports submitted by CVERIC can be located which contain information regarding ERIC WALTER HUBSCHER'S having attended any other type of meeting which might be regarded as a CP meeting.

It is noted that [redacted] and [redacted] both of known reliability, have advised that HUBSCHER attended a Communist May Day rally held at Carnegie Music Hall, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. on May 4, 1947, and the former also

reported that HUBSCHER attended the South Side Communist Party Club social and raffle held on April 3, 1948 at the home of LOUIS BORTZ, 1253 Shady Crest Drive, Pittsburgh. [] further reported that HUBSCHER attended the 25th Anniversary celebration sponsored by the CP of Western Pennsylvania which was held at Carnegie Lecture Hall, North Side, on September 20, 1947.

b7D

21. Re testimony - Page 1342, Paragraph 19.

"Mr. Cvetic (listing Communist Party members) Rudy Martonovich: Who was one of the editors of the Language Press, 1916 East Street. He is now in Yugoslavia."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which sets out that RUDOLF MARTONOVICH [] is presently in Yugoslavia.

b6
b7C

According to the July 5, 1947 issue of "Indovy Dennik", Slovak newspaper published at Pittsburgh, Pa., MARTONOVICH returned to Czechoslovakia, not Yugoslavia, on June 28, 1947. An article appearing in "Indovy Dennik" on June 26, 1947 set out that MARTONOVICH would establish residence in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

An article appearing in the October 6, 1949 issue of "Indovy Noviny" (Successor to "Indovy Dennik") set out that as of August 9, 1949 MARTONOVICH was President of the County Commission of Bratislava.

22. Re testimony - Page 1348, Paragraph 6.

"Mr. Cvetic: Once when I spoke at a meeting in West Brownsville in Washington County, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, I had to run for my life. I was making a Communist speech."

By report dated March 27, 1945 CVETIC advised that a meeting was held at Croatian Hall, West Brownsville, Pa., on that date for the purpose of discussing a "Miners' strike threat." ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN attended this meeting and delivered the principal address.

The above report of CVETIC does not contain any information to the effect that he had to run for his life and indicates that CVETIC spoke with regard to Yugoslav relief, and a "No strike vote" by the miners.

23. Re testimony - Page 1349, Paragraphs 20-23.

Mr. Velde: Going back to Victor Sharenkoff, what was his position?

Mr. Cvetic: I knew him as a leader of the Bulgarian section of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Mr. Velde: Did he have any official connection with the United States Government?

Mr. Cvetic: While I have never had absolute knowledge of it, I have been informed he either was employed by the State Department or had some plans with the State Department at one time, but I never of my own knowledge knew that, except I recollect in my meetings with Dr. Sharenkoff he stated or somebody stated he worked for the State Department. The reason I placed stress on Dr. Sharenkoff is because he does meet with Sam Milgrom, and Sam Milgrom, as I have reported to the FBI, is head of the Communist Party in the United States and has to a large extent replaced Peters. He stays pretty much in the background, but I attended a Communist Party meeting in Chicago where Gerhart Eisler was present, and I heard Milgrom telling Eisler what to do, so I figured Milgrom was the boss."

As noted hereinbefore no report submitted by CVETIC can be located which sets out that VICTOR SHARENKOFF was or is employed by the State Department.

By report dated December 13, 1948 CVETIC advised that the 15th Anniversary Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had been held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on December 11, and 12, 1948. This report sets out that both SAM MILGROM and GERHART EISLER attended this conference but the report does not contain any information to the effect that CVETIC "heard MILGROM telling EISLER what to do."

Likewise CVETIC has never reported to this office that SAM MILGROM "is head of the Communist Party in the United States and has to a large extent replaced Peters."

The only comment by CVETIC concerning MILGROM that can possibly be so interpreted was contained in a report dated November 9, 1948 in which he advised that a National Groups Commission Meeting of the CP-USA had been

held at LWO Headquarters, 30 - 5th Avenue, New York, New York, on November 9, 1948. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the Or line with regard to Yugoslavia and "Sam Milgrom, LWO leader" was in attendance.

At one point in this report CVERIC sets out "Anter, Bacich, Justiz, Jolysun, Babin, and others were critical of some of the work and voiced opinions about drastic changes especially relating to (Mardani) Glasnik but the fact that Sam Milgrom's suggestions were adopted without opposition indicated at least to me that he is in the driver's seat in this Commission."

24. Re testimony - Page 1350, Paragraphs 6 and 7.

"Mr. Tavenner: Do you have knowledge of a Communist cell presently existing and operating in the Bethlehem Steel plant at Johnstown, Pa.?"

"Mr. Cveric: I know a Communist cell operated there. Several of the party members with whom I met in it whom he informed me. I have never met with the cell as an organization. I have met with several party members with whom I met in Johnstown have told me: 'We are party members working in the Bethlehem plant.' But I have no knowledge of how they function. I never personally met with such a cell."

No report submitted by CVERIC can be located which sets out that a CP cell is operating at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Johnstown, Pa. [redacted] of known reliability, who is better informed on Cambria County or activity than CVERIC, reported on June 13, 1950 that approximately a year ago STEVE NELSON issued orders to split up the CP members in Johnstown into two units, one comprising coal miners and the other steel workers and persons operating their own businesses. Four of the individuals assigned to the latter unit reportedly are employed by the Bethlehem Steel Company. Only two of these individuals are regarded by [redacted] as being active CP members at the present time.

b7D

25. Re testimony - Page 1351, Paragraph 1.

"Mr. Cveric: From the meetings I have attended--and I am taking into account where I led meetings in the coal-mining districts and didn't even know the names of the members, and picnics I attended where I didn't know the names of all members--I would say that the present strength of the Communist Party in Cambria County is 35 to 40 members."

No report submitted by CVEIC can be located in which he sets out the strength of the CP in Cambria County.

On January 16, 1950 [redacted] of known reliability, reported that there were approximately 24 CP members in Cambria County, 6 being members of the CP Branch at Portage, Pa. and 18 being members of the Branch at Johnstown, Pa. b7D

[redacted] of known reliability, has also reported that as of December 31, 1949 the Cambria County CP membership was 24. b7D

8. Re testimony - Page 1309, Paragraphs 1-7.

"Mr. Cvetic (Naming proposed speakers at a May 4, 1949 meeting of the Civil Rights Congress at Pittsburgh):

"William Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is listed as a speaker.

"Tom Quinn is listed as the chairman of the meeting.

"Nate Albert is listed as a speaker.

"Tom Fitzpatrick is listed as a speaker.

"Charley Fisher is listed as a speaker.

"Charley Newell and Nick Lazaris are listed as speakers. These I have identified as Communist Party members and they were considered as speakers. Which of them actually spoke, I can't say, because I didn't attend the meeting.

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located regarding the above May 4, 1949 meeting since he did not attend same.

b7D

By report dated May 9, 1949 [redacted], of known reliability, reported that WILLIAM PATTERSON, ROBERT JONES, and GEORGE WUCHINICH had spoken at the above meeting.

The "Pittsburgh Courier" a weekly negro newspaper published at Pittsburgh, Pa., in its issue of May 25, 1949 published at page 5, columns 3 and 4, an article to the effect that WILLIAM PATTERSON, NIP HANULA, ROBERT JONES, and HATHAN ALBERT were speakers at the above meeting.

9. Page 1310, Paragraph 12, to Page 1312, Paragraph 5.

"Mr. Tavenner: I desire to offer a list of persons who were to furnish transportation to a meeting featuring Mrs. Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, on Friday night, October 28, 1949, and ask that it be marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 49.'

"Mr. Wood: Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 49,' filed herewith.)

"Mr. Tavenner: Mr. Cvetic, will you examine the list and state whether or not you can identify the names of any of those appearing thereon as members of the Communist Party, that is, known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: First I would like to say, the way this was arranged this plan was discussed at the nationality commission of the Communist Party and this list was prepared at the nationality commission meeting, and it was our contribution to this meeting at which Mrs. Robeson was present on the evening of October 28, 1949, at the A. Leo Weil School in Pittsburgh. In other words, we were to get these cars to transport people to the meeting.

"Mr. Tavenner: By 'we' to whom do you refer?

"Mr. Cvetic: Members of the nationality commission.

"Mr. Tavenner: Of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: That is right."

b7D

It is noted that this evidence was presented as pertaining to the Civil Rights Congress at Pittsburgh. [redacted] of known reliability, reported on October 30, 1949, that the meeting which featured Mrs. Paul Robeson was Progressive Party Rally held at the A. Leo Weil School, Centre and Sixth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., on October 28, 1949. No report submitted by CVETIC can be located with regard to his attendance at this meeting.

It is noted, however, that in a report dated October 16, 1949 CVI set out the organization of an autocade for transporting people to the above meeting which was to feature Mrs. PAUL ROBESON, was discussed and prepared at "A meeting held at the Progressive Party office, 120 - 9th Street, Pittsburgh on Friday evening, October 14, 1949, for the purpose of mobilizing Slavic Americans for the coming elections."

The above report of CVETIC does not indicate that this was a meeting of the Nationality Commission.

10. Re testimony - Page 1312, Paragraphs 2-6.

"Mr. Tavenner: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence at this time a copy of a letter signed 'Daughter Dollie Allen, secretary, Elks Rest' bearing date January 29, 1949, which shows a list of the local sponsoring committee in the margin, and I ask that it be marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 51.'"

"Mr. Walter: Let it be marked and received."

(The document above referred to, marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 51,' is filed herewith)

"Mr. Tavenner: Will you examine this exhibit 51, Mr. Cvetic, and explain what the Elks Rest is and the significance of the letter?"

"Mr. Cvetic: This was a sponsoring committee call to a legislative assembly and rally to be held in Washington, D.C., on February 11 and 12, 1949. The local sponsoring committee members of the Communist Party were: Alexander Wright, whom I previously identified as a Communist Party member; Joseph 'Sonny' Robinson, whom I previously identified as a member of the Communist Party; and Charles Kearns, a radio script writer for one of the Pittsburgh radio stations, who is also a Communist Party member."

No information concerning DOLLIE ALLEN or Elks Rest can be located in reports submitted by CVERIC.

On February 8, 1949 [redacted], of known reliability, furnished a copy of a "Call to a legislative assembly and rally to end segregation and discrimination" which was held at Washington, D.C. on February 11 and 12, 1949, and which was apparently under the direction of one Dr. J. FINLEY WILSON, 1915 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

By report dated January 28, 1949 CVERIC stated that during the course of the meeting of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania on January 27, 1949, GEORGE WUCHINICH announced that the above conference was to be held and that it was being organized by the leader of the negro colored Elks.

This office has no information indicating that the above conference was sponsored by the CP for a CP front group.

Testimony of MATTHEW CVETIC before
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN
ACTIVITIES - May 13, 14, 24, 1950.

The following discrepancies have been found in CVETIC'S testimony on the above dates after comparison with reports submitted by him to this office:

1. Re testimony - Page 1279, Paragraph 11.

"Mr. Cvetic: I attended meetings of the Labor Youth League"

According to reports submitted to this office by CVETIC he attended only one meeting of the Labor Youth League, the Founding Conference of the Labor Youth League of Western Pennsylvania which was held at the Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., on June 17, 1949, and reported by CVETIC on the same date.

2. Re testimony - Page 1290, Paragraph 10.

"Mr. Cvetic: ESTHER BLISS is a member of the Labor Youth League"

No reports submitted by CVETIC or any other informants can be located which set out that ESTHER BLISS is a member of the Labor Youth League. It is noted, however, that CVETIC has reported her to be a member of the Communist Party.

3. Re testimony - Page 1291, Paragraphs 5 and 6.

"Mr. Tavenner: Approximately when and under what circumstances was the Civil Rights Congress formed in Pittsburgh?"

100-372407-184
66-372407-3-3-107

"Mr. Cvetic: The Civil Rights Congress of Pittsburgh was formed about five years ago in the office of Hy Schlessinger....."

The first reports received by this office from CVEPIC regarding meetings held to organize a Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh were dated July 21, 1947 and August 4, 1947, and referred to meetings of the CRC Organizational Committee which were held on those dates in the law offices of HYMAN SCHLESINGER, Park Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

4. Re testimony - Page 1291, Paragraphs 17 and 18.

"Mr. Tavenner: How many people attended this meeting of May 27, 1948, as nearly as you can recall?

"Mr. Cvetic: About 200."

By report dated May 27, 1948 CVEPIC advised that seven to eight hundred people had attended an "Open hearing on Civil Rights" which was held on that date at Wesley Center A.M.E. Zion Church, 2701 Centre Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

By report dated May 28, 1948 [redacted] of known reliability, advised that approximately 700 people had attended the above meeting. b7D

5. Re testimony - Page 1293, Paragraph 13.

"Mr. Cvetic: (naming CP members) Louise Benjoies; she is a Communist Party member sent to Pittsburgh to work in the Progressive Party during the Wallace campaign"

No report submitted by CVEPIC or any other informant of this office can be located which definitely identifies BENJOIES as a CP member. It is noted, however, that CVEPIC has reported her as being an associate of CP members.

6. Re testimony - Page 1296, Paragraphs 10 and 11.

"Mr. Tavenner: In early September, plans were made to reorganize the Civil Rights Congress in Pittsburgh in order to fully mobilize for the defense of the 12 indicted Communist leaders. Is that not so?

"Mr. Cvetic: That was in September, 1948, yes."

By report dated October 30, 1949 CVETIC advised that a meeting of leading CP members, called by STEVE NELSON, was held at 943 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. on October 29, 1949, "For the purpose of discussion and the re-organization of the local CRC and activities surrounding the 11 jailed Communist leaders."

7. Re testimony - Page 1300, last paragraph,
Page 1301, first paragraph.

"Mr. Cvetic: (Naming Communist Party members) STANLEY LONEY, President of District 6, UE-CIO.

"The names I have mentioned here I know to be members of the Communist Party as I have attended functionary meetings of the Communist Party with these people."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which states that STANLEY LONEY is a CP member or attended CP functionary meetings. It is noted that CVETIC orally advised this office on December 29, 1949 that he had no knowledge that LONEY was a member of the CP and that he certainly had not seen him at recent CP meetings. On this date CVETIC did state that LONEY had been elected a member of the Board of Directors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born during the national conference of that organization held at Detroit, Michigan on December 3, and 4, 1949. CVETIC said, however, that LONEY did not attend this conference.

By report dated July 18, 1949 CVETIC advised that STANLEY LONEY had attended the Bill of Rights Conference held at New York, New York on July 16, and 17, 1949.

It is noted that CNDIs [] and [], both of known reliability, have reported that STANLEY LONEY was a CP member but neither of these informants have reported LONEY as attending any recent CP meetings.

b7D

8. Re testimony - Page 1309, Paragraphs 1-7.

"Mr. Cvetic (Naming proposed speakers at a May 4, 1949 meeting of the Civil Rights Congress at Pittsburgh):

"William Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is listed as a speaker.

"Tom Quinn is listed as the chairman of the meeting.

"Nate Albert is listed as a speaker.

"Tom Fitzpatrick is listed as a speaker.

"Charley Fisher is listed as a speaker.

"Charley Newell and Nick Lazaris are listed as speakers. These I have identified as Communist Party members and they were considered as speakers. Which of them actually spoke, I can't say, because I didn't attend the meeting.

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located regarding the above May 4, 1949 meeting since he did not attend same.

b7D

By report dated May 9, 1949 [REDACTED], of known reliability, reported that WILLIAM PATTERSON, ROBERT JONES, and GEORGE WUCHINICH had spoken at the above meeting.

The "Pittsburgh Courier" a weekly negro newspaper published at Pittsburgh, Pa., in its issue of May 25, 1949 published at page 5, columns 3 and 4, an article to the effect that WILLIAM PATTERSON, MILO MAMULA, ROBERT JONES, and NATHAN ALBERT were speakers at the above meeting.

9. Page 1310, Paragraph 12, to Page 1311, Paragraph 5.

"Mr. Tavenner: I desire to offer a list of persons who were to furnish transportation to a meeting featuring Mrs. Robeson, wife of Paul Robeson, on Friday night, October 28, 1949, and ask that it be marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 49.'

"Mr. Wood: Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 49,' is filed herewith.)

"Mr. Tavenner: Mr. Cvetic, will you examine the list and state whether or not you can identify the names of any of those appearing thereon as members of the Communist Party, that is, known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: First I would like to say, the way this was arranged, this plan was discussed at the nationality commission of the Communist Party, and this list was prepared at the nationality commission meeting, and it was our contribution to this meeting at which Mrs. Robeson was present on the evening of October 28, 1949, at the A. Leo Weil School in Pittsburgh. In other words, we were to get these cars to transport people to the meeting.

"Mr. Tavenner: By 'we' to whom do you refer?

"Mr. Cvetic: Members of the nationality commission.

"Mr. Tavenner: Of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: That is right."

b7D

It is noted that this evidence was presented as pertaining to the Civil Rights Congress at Pittsburgh. [] of known reliability, reported on October 30, 1949, that the meeting which featured Mrs. Paul Robeson was a Progressive Party Rally held at the A. Leo Weil School, Centre and Soho Streets, Pittsburgh, Pa., on October 28, 1949. No report submitted by CVETIC can be located with regard to his attendance at this meeting.

It is noted, however, that in a report dated October 16, 1949 CVETIC set out the organization of an autocade for transporting people to the above meeting which was to feature Mrs. PAUL ROBESON, was discussed and prepared at "A meeting held at the Progressive Party office, 120 - 9th Street, Pittsburgh, on Friday evening, October 14, 1949, for the purpose of mobilizing Slavic Americans for the coming elections."

The above report of CVETIC does not indicate that this was a meeting of the Nationality Commission.

10. Re testimony - Page 1312, Paragraphs 2-6.

"Mr. Tavenner: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence at this time copy of a letter signed 'Daughter Dollie Allen, secretary, Elks Rest' bearing date January 29, 1949, which shows a list of the local sponsoring committee on the margin, and I ask that it be marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 51.'"

"Mr. Walter: Let it be marked and received."

(The document above referred to, marked 'Cvetic Exhibit No. 51,' is filed herewith)

"Mr. Tavenner: Will you examine this exhibit 51, Mr. Cvetic, and explain what the Elks Rest is and the significance of the letter?"

"Mr. Cvetic: This was a sponsoring committee call to a legislative assembly and rally to be held in Washington, D.C., on February 11 and 12, 1949. The local sponsoring committee members of the Communist Party were: Alexander Wright, whom I previously identified as a Communist Party member; Joseph 'Sonny' Robinson, whom I previously identified as a member of the Communist Party; and Charles Kearns, a radio script writer for one of the Pittsburgh radio stations, who is also a Communist Party member."

No information concerning DOLLIE ALLEN or Elks Rest can be located in reports submitted by CVETIC.

On February 8, 1949 [redacted], of known reliability, furnished a copy of a "Call to a legislative assembly and rally to end segregation and discrimination" which was held at Washington, D.C. on February 11 and 12, 1949, and which was apparently under the direction of one Dr. J. FINLEY WILSON, 1915 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

b7D

By report dated January 28, 1949 CVETIC stated that during the course of the meeting of the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania on January 27, 1949, GEORGE WUCHINICH announced that the above conference was to be held and that it was being organized by the leader of the negro colored Elks.

This office has no information indicating that the above conference was sponsored by the CP for a CP front group.

11. Re testimony - Page 1315, Last Paragraph, through
Page 1316, Paragraph 5.

"Mr. Cvetic: Well, I attended a meeting in Chicago of national executives of the Civil Rights Congress in the spring of 1949, either in the spring or early summer of 1949. To this meeting came the executives from the entire country. We had about 30 executive secretaries. I represented the Western Pennsylvania area of the Civil Rights Congress. William Patterson, national executive secretary, was chairman of the meeting. Another who was there was Harold Christoffel; also, Mr. Marshall, who at that time was one of the top officials of the Civil Rights Congress.

"Mr. Tavenner: What Marshall is that?

"Mr. Cvetic: I don't recollect his first name. At any rate, at this particular meeting in Chicago, it was called for the purpose of taking up the main topic, and that was the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

"In the course of the discussions which developed in the 2 days, several of the people who attended these meetings complained bitterly because some of the money which was raised for other causes was deflected to the defense of the Communist leadership. In one particular case there was a fund of over \$20,000 raised for a specific campaign, and no record was ever available that the money was used for the particular purpose. From all indications and apologies by top officials, this fund was deflected to the defense of the Communist Party leadership.

"The conclusion was reached at this meeting that from then on money would be used for the purpose for which it was raised. We were working and raising funds for many cases, the Leon Josephson case and many others, and from the discussions at this meeting it was brought out that much of the money raised for these cases was deflected to the Communist leadership defense."

CVETIC is apparently referring to a conference of secretaries and functionaries of the Civil Rights Congress held at Chicago, Illinois, on June 4, and 5, 1949, concerning which he submitted a report on June 7, 1949. According to that report, 28 secretaries and visitors attended said conference, and GEORGE MARSHALL, Chairman of the Board of Directors - not WILLIAM PATTERSON - was chairman of the conference sessions. CVETIC'S report did not set out that

HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL attended this conference but did advise that one HAROLD -- was present. By report dated July 18, 1949 CVETIC advised that the individual referred to as HAROLD was actually HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL.

Although the above report of CVETIC indicated that there was some discussion at the conference concerning the defense of the CP leadership, it set out that the conference was called to critically re-examine the work of the local CRC chapters and the national office in order to build the national organization.

CVETIC'S report set out that it was decided that funds raised during a particular campaign should be used for the purpose for which the campaign was initiated and that the national CRC office and local chapters should refrain from using money in one specific campaign for other activities. The above report did not indicate that such funds were deflected to the defense of the CP leadership and contained no mention of a \$20,000 fund which was deflected.

In a report dated October 30, 1949 CVETIC advised that a meeting of leading party members was held at 943 Liberty Avenue, on October 29, 1949. During the course of same STEVE NELSON mentioned that \$8,000 of the local bail bond fund had been raised in the district and that \$20,000 was needed. This, however, was a CP fund and not a CRC fund. CVETIC'S report did not mention the deflection of any funds to other purposes.

12. Re testimony - Page 1316, Paragraphs 10 and 11.

"Mr. Tavenner: Do you recall the purpose for which the fund of \$20,000 was raised which you said it was suspected had been diverted to the defense of the Communist leaders?

"Mr. Cvetic: The amount, as I recollect, was around \$23,000. Without my notes, which I turned over to the FBI, I don't remember the specifics on it. As soon as I would get through with a meeting, I would file my reports and then get started on the next day's work."

As set out above CVETIC'S report dated June 7, 1949 with regard to a CRC conference held at Chicago, Illinois, on June 4 and 5, 1949, did not mention the deflection of a \$20,000 fund and no information regarding this fund or a \$23,000 fund can be located in the reports which he submitted to this office.

13. Re testimony - Page 1324, Paragraphs 10-13.

"Mr. Tavenner: Do you recall whether the Reverend Vioslav Gachinovich was a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: At that time he sat down with members of the nationality commission separate and aside. Because of his position, he met with Mr. Minerich, or he met with myself and other leaders, for the purpose of discussing this particular project.

"Mr. Tavenner: But he was not a member of the nationality commission of the Communist Party?

"Mr. Cvetic: Not at that time; no."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which set out that Reverend VIOSLAV GACHINOVICH was a member of the Nationality (National groups) Commission at any time.

14. Re testimony - Page 1327, Paragraph 4-6.

"Mr. Cvetic: I know in my previous testimony I identified a doctor I understood was with the State Department some time ago. I don't know whether he is still there.

"Mr. Harrison: Who is he?

"Mr. Cvetic: Dr. Victor Sharenkoff."

No reports submitted by CVETIC can be located which set out that VICTOR SHARENKOFF is or was an employee of the State Department.

15. Re testimony - Page 1330, Paragraph 19, to
Page 1331, Paragraph 29.

"Mr. Cvetic: This is a list of delegates to the American Slav Congress National Convention held in Pittsburgh in September 1946. The following are known Communist Party members, and I am testifying to this on the basis of Communist Party members with whom I have attended committee or functionary meetings of the Communist Party:

"Frank Tadej. T-a-d-e-j -- he also spells it T-a-d-y;
 "Stephen Mirkovich;
 "Zare Werlinich;
 "Anthony Skvarich;
 "Joe Sumrak;
 "Mary Sumrak;
 "N.S. Loyen, who uses the name of Steve Loyen, one of the leaders
 of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh who went to Yugoslavia about 2 years ago.
 "Stephen Devunich;
 "Joseph Migalich;
 "Arthur Bartl;
 "Leo Fisher;
 "Louis Filetich;
 "Frank Borich;
 "Mike Dudash;
 "Ladislav Sobol, from Etna, Pa.
 "John Matelesko, M-a-t-e-l-e-s-k-o, who also uses the name Matles,
 M-a-t-l-e-s, from Conemaugh, Pa., in Cambria County.
 "Matthew Lepovich, from Bentleyville, Pa. I know him to be a member
 because I attended Communist Party meetings in Washington County with him at the
 home of Harold Spencer, who is also a Communist Party member. I wanted to
 qualify this man because he is a deputy sheriff in Washington County.
 "Mr. Tavenner: Who is the person referred to as a deputy sheriff?
 "Mr. Cvetic: Matthew Lepovich.
 (continuing to name Communists:) Steve Merges;
 Alexander Makushenko;
 "Anton Cipic;
 "Rev. Vioslav Gachinovich;
 "Mike Godich;
 "Anthony Minerich;
 "Martin Krasich;
 "Milo Mamula;
 "Mane Susnjar;
 "Paul Kluvo;
 "Michael Hamusiak;
 "John Kowalski, South Side, Pittsburgh;
 "Calvin Brook;
 "Daisy Lolich. She is married now and her name is Bartl.
 "Rev. Nikola Drenovac, a member of the Communist Party. He is now
 in Yugoslavia.
 "Nicholas Baltich;
 "Milena Gachinovich. She is the wife of Rev. Gachinovich and she
 is also in Yugoslavia."

A thorough review of the files in this office has failed to locate a complete list of the Pittsburgh delegates to the 1946 American Slav Conference National Convention (3rd American Slav Congress.) It is to be noted, however, that CVETIC'S testimony on this point is confused. According to reports submitted by CVETIC to this office and the New York Office the Third American Slav Congress was held on September 20-22, 1946 at New York, N. Y. From information furnished by CVETIC, to the New York Office during the course of said conference a list of five Pittsburgh delegates can be compiled. One of these delegates reported by CVETIC was GEORGE WITKOVICH who was previously identified by CVETIC before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a CP member. It is noted, however, that in this portion of the testimony appearing on pages 1330 and 1331 CVETIC does not include WITKOVICH as one of the CP delegates to the 1946 American Slav Congress National Convention.

b7D

According to reports submitted to this office by CVETIC and other informants in 1944 the American Slav Congress National Convention (2nd American Slav Congress) was held at Pittsburgh on September 23 and 24, 1944. This office maintains a complete list of delegates to the 1944 Congress, same having been furnished by [] of known reliability. A check of this list, however, reflects that it is not identical with the list concerning which CVETIC testified on pages 1330 and 1331.

16. Re testimony - Page 1332, Paragraph 22.

"Mr. Cvetic: This Western Pennsylvania committee is a committee selected from the American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania." (With regard to persons elected at a quarterly meeting of the American Slav Congress held on May 25, 1947, at the Mayfair Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.)

It would appear that CVETIC does not recall what type of committee he is describing here. No report submitted by CVETIC can be located regarding this meeting or this committee. It is noted, however, that [] of known reliability, reported on May 27, 1947 that during the course of the American Slav Congress Quarterly Conference held at the Mayfair Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., on May 25, 1947, provisional committees were set up for the purpose of getting youth interested in the ASC.

b7D

It would appear that the persons named by CVETIC were persons chosen for these provisional committees.

17. Re testimony - Page 1340, Paragraphs 4-11.

"Mr. Tavenner: Mr. Cvetic, in going over these various documents which you have presented here with members of the staff, you have recalled a meeting, I understand, which was held in Pittsburgh in 1946 and which was addressed by William Z. Foster. Will you now describe that meeting to us?

"Mr. Cvetic: In the late fall or early winter of 1946, November or December 1946, the Communist Party in Pittsburgh held a meeting at the Carnegie Music Hall in North Side. William Z. Foster, the chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America, was the principal speaker. One of the main themes that he used at this particular meeting--I attended the meeting as a member of the arrangements committee and was also William Z. Foster's chauffeur, taking him to the meeting and back to the station, so I know what I am talking about--the main theme of his talk went something like this:

"If the war-makers"--and I am quoting William Z. Foster--"think they can ever defeat the Soviet Union, they have another think coming."

"This was a speech in the Communist Party while our country was busy disarming, as early as late 1946. I heard William Z. Foster make that statement.

"Mr. Tavenner: Was that statement made in private or during the course of a speech?

"Mr. Cvetic: It was made during the course of his speech.

"Mr. Tavenner: What other discussion was held within the Communist Party on this subject, to your knowledge?

"Mr. Cvetic: I believe I previously testified that at this particular meeting that William Z. Foster stressed the importance of setting up a new People's Party, and that all the members should work for the building of a new People's Party."

By report dated November 26, 1945 CVETIC advised that a William Z. Foster Mass Meeting had been held at the Carnegie Music Hall, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. on November 25, 1945, and that he had driven Foster, the principal speaker, to and from this meeting.

The above report set out: "William Z. Foster denounced reactionary Government of United States for keeping troops in China, in his speech—stressed importance of support to G.M. and other strikers and also stressed support for steel in its fight for wage increase of 30% or \$2.00 a day. On atomic bomb said U.S. should give it to the United Nations—warned if U.S. does not give it these countries will get it anyhow. Tenor of speech was forceful and the most radical in three years in the CP."

The above report of CVETIC contains no further information regarding FOSTER'S address.

A resume of the information regarding this meeting as reported by Special Agents WILLIAM B. MOONEY, and [redacted] November 25, 1945, [redacted] of known reliability, November 25, 1945, [redacted] of known reliability, November 27, 1945, [redacted] of known reliability, November 25, 1945, and Bureau Informant [redacted] of known reliability, November 25, 1945, reflects the following with regard to the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER MASS MEETING held on November 25, 1945:

b6
b7C
b7D

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, the principal speaker of the evening, declared that the Truman Administration was surrendering to reaction and imperialism. He contended that TRUMAN was not fighting for his proposals and that Congress was "slashing to pieces" the President's full employment program.

FOSTER continued that the blame for the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union should be placed at the door step of the State Department of the United States which was taking its orders from the reactionaries; that the reactionaries in the United States wanted to use their huge Navy and Air Force and the atomic bomb to destroy the Soviet Union because the latter desired to be surrounded by free nations. He stated that the Soviet Union had paid a terrible price in blood to help Democracy conquer Nazi Germany and Japan; that thereafter the United States and Great Britain were trying to re-establish a reactionary Germany and the United States was running the whole show in Japan, telling the rest of the world to keep hands off. FOSTER mentioned that American soldiers in China were even fighting the Chinese Communists and that the latter had furnished the only organized resistance to the Japs. He asserted that American soldiers had no business in China; that the present administration was waving a big imperialistic stick and that the American people should demand that all American soldiers be withdrawn from China by Christmas, 1945.

With regard to the atomic bomb FOSTER stated that its secret should be shared by all large nations and that it should be given to the Security Council of the United Nations. If this action was not taken, FOSTER contended that it would lead to horrible results inasmuch as other nations would learn the secret any way; that Russia would not sit idly by and let the imperialistic countries keep the atomic secret.

FOSTER continued that preparations for World War III were already in the making and that the imperialists in the United States and Great Britain were to be blamed.

The speaker devoted considerable time to pointing out what the Communists had accomplished all over the world. He said that the Communists practically control the French Government and that it was only a matter of time until the same situation prevailed in Italy and Germany; that the Balkan states were communist. FOSTER argued that that was the reason the capitalists were yelling about the Communist menace; but that no one had anything to fear from the Communists except the imperialists and the sooner the latter became extinct the sooner peace would come to the world. FOSTER related that it was the aim of the American Communist Party to nationalize all the major industries; that the free enterprise system was a joke. He predicted that the struggle of the workers for higher wages and shorter hours would lead to the abolition of capitalism; that the Communist Party must lead the workers in this struggle, in order to convince the people that capitalism should be replaced by communism. He asserted that the Communist Party was no longer a minority party in many nations; that it was growing in America and would continue to grow until it was the majority party. He concluded that the Communists in Pittsburgh were following the pattern of the Communists all over the world by building the Party to a stage where it could stand alongside any party.

By report dated March 10, 1946 CVETIC advised that a WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Mass Meeting had been held on March 10, 1946, at the Henry Clay Frick Elementary School, Fifth Avenue and Thackeray Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. Said report set out that during the course of the principal address WILLIAM Z. FOSTER "Accused the American Government as acting aggressively and unfriendly and referred to the Soviet Union as a country who wants to be friendly, and also that we cannot defeat her if we fight her.....The entire speech was colored with defeatism as regards a war if it should come and the certain defeat this country would suffer."

It is noted that CVETIC did not include any information concerning the importance of setting up a new People's Party in this report but he did set out that FOSTER made "An appeal for recruits into the Communist Party -- stressed the importance of a strong Communist Party."

It is further noted that reports submitted concerning the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER Mass Meeting held on March 10, 1946, as submitted by Special Agent [redacted] March 10, 1946, [redacted] of known reliability, March 10, 1946, [redacted] of known reliability, April 4, 1946, and Bureau Informant [redacted] of known reliability, March 10, 1946, did not contain any information to the effect that FOSTER stressed the importance of setting up a new People's Party.

b6
b7C
b7D

It would appear that CVETIC'S testimony with regard to the WILLIAM Z. FOSTER meeting held in Pittsburgh in the late fall or early winter of 1946 is both confused and erroneous.

18. Re testimony - Page 1340, Paragraph 12, through
Page 1341, Paragraph 2.

"Mr. Tavenner: Did you ever have a discussion with Steve Nelson, or did you hear in a conference Steve Nelson say anything regarding the leadership of the Communist Party in the Western District of Pennsylvania in the event he was not available for continued leadership?

"Mr. Cvetic: Yes. I would like to report on a meeting I attended late last summer at 943 Liberty Avenue which Steve Nelson addressed. The particular meeting dealt with the Communist Party leadership. The meeting was addressed by Steve Nelson, who is the district organizer at the present time for the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania.

"At this meeting Steve Nelson stressed the importance, to the leading party functionaries who were present at this meeting, that all of us should be prepared to assume leadership if and when any of the leaders of the Communist Party are deposed by any means. He elaborated on this by calling attention that we don't know when any of us may be in concentration camps, and he used such terms as the party leadership might be 'decapitated' and we should be prepared to assume leadership if anyone is removed, and if an emergency situation should arise we should all be prepared to assume leadership in the party.

"Whenever he referred to concentration camps and started talking about the leadership being deposed, while he did not qualify himself, Steve Nelson always did refer in conversations to this country as the enemy, and my only inference from his instructions to be followed in an 'emergency situation' was that he meant in case of war between the Soviet Union and the United States."

CVETIC is apparently referring to a District Conference of the CP of Western Pennsylvania held at 943 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., on September 25, 1949 and reported by him on September 26, 1949.

His report regarding this conference does not set out that STEVE NELSON mentioned concentration camps but does state "Nelson also said in dealing with the Party leadership The secondary leadership of the Party conducted the plenum in absence of our leaders, four of whom are in jail and one, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who is in Paris. Nelson said it shows they cannot behead our party."

[redacted] of known reliability, reported on the above meeting but no substantiation of CVETIC'S testimony is contained in said informant's report.

b7D

With regard to STEVE NELSON referring to this country "As the enemy" CVETIC'S only reports tending to substantiate this testimony are as follows:

In a report dated February 16, 1949 CVETIC advised that while lunching with STEVE NELSON at Pittsburgh, on that date, NELSON in speaking of organizing a class of new Party recruits among youth and steel workers, stated, "The new members will be encouraged to ask some of the questions the enemy is raising, such as the Mindszenty Trial, etc."

In a report dated July 29, 1949 CVETIC advised that a meeting of the CP functionaries was held at 943 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., on July 28, 1949. During the course of this meeting, "Steve Nelson stated in his report that the United States is meddling in many other countries both economically and politically. The North Atlantic Pact and the proposed military aid program of (President) Truman brings the threat of war closer. The American imperialists are trying to dominate the world—but they will not succeed. This attack of our enemy is being answered every day with victories in China....."

In another report dated November 13, 1949, CVETIC advised that NELSON, while discussing recruiting at a district conference of the CP of Western Pennsylvania held at Pittsburgh on November 12, 1949, stated, "Anyone who is waiting for things to get easier before they start working

better forget about it, comrades. Things are not going to get easier, they are going to get tougher and we might as well face it. Our enemy which has been defeated on the International front will sharpen its attack on us in this country, make no mistake about that."

19. Re testimony - Page 1341, Paragraph 11.

"Mr. Cvetic (listing Communist Party members) George Brkljacic: I used to collect his party dues. He lived in McKees Rocks, Pa. He is now in Yugoslavia."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which sets out that he collected dues from BRKLJACIC or that the latter is now in Yugoslavia. It is noted that no active investigation of BRKLJACIC has ever been conducted by this office.

20. Re testimony - Page 1342, Paragraph 1.

"Mr. Cvetic (listing Communist Party members) Eric Walter Hubscher, husband of Martha Hubscher: I have attended Communist Party meetings with him."

By report dated July 21, 1946 CVETIC advised that HUBSCHER had attended a CP picnic at Linden Grove, Castle Shannon, Pa. It is noted that [] of known reliability, also reported that HUBSCHER was present at this picnic. b7D

By report dated July 18, 1949 CVETIC advised that HUBSCHER had attended the Bill of Rights Conference held at New York, New York on July 17 and 18, 1949.

No further reports submitted by CVETIC can be located which contain information regarding ERIC WALTER HUBSCHER'S having attended any other type of meeting which might be regarded as a CP meeting.

It is noted that [] and [] both of known reliability, have advised that HUBSCHER attended a Communist May Day rally held at Carnegie Music Hall, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. on May 4, 1947, and the former also b7D

reported that HUBSCHER attended the South Side Communist Party Club social and raffle held on April 3, 1948 at the home of LOUIS BORTZ, 1253 Shady Crest Drive, Pittsburgh. [] further reported that HUBSCHER attended the 28th Anniversary celebration sponsored by the CP of Western Pennsylvania which was held at Carnegie Lecture Hall, North Side, on September 28, 1947.

21. Re testimony - Page 1342, Paragraph 19.

"Mr. Cvetic (listing Communist Party members) Rudy Martonovich: Who was one of the editors of the Language Press, 1916 East Street. He is now in Yugoslavia."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which sets out that RUDOLF MARTONOVICH (Bureau file #100-58056) is presently in Yugoslavia.

According to the July 5, 1947 issue of "Ludovy Dennik", Slovak newspaper published at Pittsburgh, Pa., MARTONOVICH returned to Czechoslovakia, not Yugoslavia, on June 28, 1947. An article appearing in "Ludovy Dennik" on June 26, 1947 set out that MARTONOVICH would establish residence in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

An article appearing in the October 6, 1949 issue of "Ludove Noviny" (Successor to "Ludovy Dennik") set out that as of August 9, 1949 MARTONOVICH was President of the County Commission of Bratislava.

22. Re testimony - Page 1348, Paragraph 6.

"Mr. Cvetic: Once when I spoke at a meeting in West Brownsville in Washington County, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, I had to run for my life. I was making a Communist speech"

By report dated March 27, 1945 CVETIC advised that a meeting was held at Croatian Hall, West Brownsville, Pa., on that date for the purpose of discussing a "Miners' strike threat." ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN attended this meeting and delivered the principal address.

The above report of CVETIC does not contain any information to the effect that he had to run for his life and indicates that CVETIC spoke with regard to Yugoslav relief, and a "No strike vote" by the miners.

23. Re testimony - Page 1349, Paragraphs 20-23.

"Mr. Velde: Going back to Victor Sharenkoff, what was his position?

"Mr. Cvetic: I knew him as a leader of the Bulgarian section of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

- "Mr. Velde: Did he have any official connection with the United States Government?

"Mr. Cvetic: While I have never had absolute knowledge of it, I have been informed he either was employed by the State Department or had some status with the State Department at one time, but I never of my own knowledge knew that, except I recollect in my meetings with Dr. Sharenkoff he stated or somebody stated he worked for the State Department. The reason I placed stress on Dr. Sharenkoff is because he does meet with Sam Milgrom, and Sam Milgrom, as I have reported to the FBI, is head of the Communist Party in the United States and has to a large extent replaced Peters. He stays pretty much in the background, but I attended a Communist Party meeting in Chicago where Gerhart Eisler was present, and I heard Milgrom telling Eisler what to do, so I figured Milgrom was the boss."

As noted hereinbefore no report submitted by CVETIC can be located which sets out that VICTOR SHARENKOFF was or is employed by the State Department.

By report dated December 13, 1948 CVETIC advised that the 15th Anniversary Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had been held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on December 11, and 12, 1948. This report sets out that both SAM MILGROM and GERHART EISLER attended this conference but the report does not contain any information to the effect that CVETIC "Heard MILGROM telling EISLER what to do."

Likewise CVETIC has never reported to this office that SAM MILGROM "Is head of the Communist Party in the United States and has to a large extent replaced Peters."

The only comment by CVETIC concerning MILGROM that can possibly be so interpreted was contained in a report dated November 9, 1948 in which he advised that a National Groups Commission Meeting of the CP-USA had been

held at IWO Headquarters, 80 - 5th Avenue, New York, New York, on November 9, 1948. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the CP line with regard to Yugoslavia and "Sam Milgrom, IWO leader" was in attendance.

At one point in this report CVETIC sets out "Amter, Bacich, Justiz, Johnson, Babin, and others were critical of some of the work and voiced opinions about drastic changes especially relating to (Narodni) Glasnik* but the fact that Sam Milgrom's suggestions were adopted without opposition indicated at least to me that he is in the driver's seat in this Commission."

24. Re testimony - Page 1350, Paragraphs 6 and 7.

"Mr. Tavenner: Do you have knowledge of a Communist cell presently existing and operating in the Bethlehem Steel plant at Johnstown, Pa.?"

"Mr. Cvetic: I know a Communist cell operates there. Several of the party members with whom I met in Johnstown so informed me. While I have never met with the cell as an organizer, various party members with whom I met in Johnstown have told me: 'We have several members working in the Bethlehem plant.' But I have no knowledge of how they function. I never personally met with such a cell."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located which sets out that a CP cell is operating at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Johnstown, Pa. [redacted] of known reliability, who is better informed on Cambria County CP activity than CVETIC, reported on June 13, 1950 that approximately a year ago STEVE NELSON issued orders to split up the CP members in Johnstown into two units, one comprising coal miners and the other steel workers and persons operating their own businesses. Four of the individuals assigned to the latter unit reportedly are employed by the Bethlehem Steel Company. Only two of these individuals are regarded by [redacted] as being active CP members at the present time. b7D

25. Re testimony - Page 1351, Paragraph 1.

"Mr. Cvetic: From the meetings I have attended--and I am taking into account where I led meetings in the coal-mining districts and didn't even know the names of the members, and picnics I attended where I didn't know the names of all members--I would say that the present strength of the Communist Party in Cambria County is 35 to 40 members."

No report submitted by CVETIC can be located in which he sets out the strength of the CP in Cambria County.

On January 16, 1950 [] of known reliability, reported that there were approximately 24 CP members in Cambria County, 6 being members of the CP Branch at Portage, Pa. and 18 being members of the Branch at Johnstown, Pa. b7D

CNDI PI-10, of known reliability, has also reported that as of December 31, 1949 the Cambria County CP membership was 24.

**DOCUMENT(S)
CANNOT
BE SCANNED**

DESCRIPTION:

BOOKLET -

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN
ACTIVITIES.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

100-372409-184

**EXPOSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA—PART 2**

BASED UPON TESTIMONY OF MATTHEW CVETIC

(Undercover Agent)

HEARINGS

U.S. Congress, House BEFORE THE
✓ **COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

**APPENDIX
INDEX**

MARCH 24, AND 25, 1950

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

50-60588



**UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1950**

63178 O

added by HWP 13 Sept. 50

HX 91
P4 A55
1950

2

85

79

CONTENTS

March 24, 1950:	
Testimony of Matthew Cvetic	Page 2365
March 25, 1950:	
Testimony of—	
Harry A. Sherman	2369
Matthew Cvetic	2372

APPENDIX

List of exhibits	2376
Photographic reproductions of certain exhibits	
Index	I-XI

III

Part 2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 86

Page 163 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 164 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 165 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 166 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 167 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 168 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 169 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 170 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 171 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 172 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 173 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 174 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 175 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 176 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 177 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 178 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 179 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 180 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 181 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 182 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 183 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 184 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 185 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 186 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 187 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 188 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 189 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 190 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 191 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 192 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 193 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 194 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 195 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 196 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 197 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 198 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 199 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 200 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 201 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 202 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 203 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 204 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 205 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 206 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188

Page 207 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 208 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 209 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 210 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 211 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 212 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 213 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 214 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 215 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 216 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 217 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 218 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 219 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 220 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 221 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 222 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 223 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 224 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 225 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 226 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 227 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 228 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 229 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 230 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 231 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 232 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 233 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 234 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 235 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 236 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 237 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 238 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 239 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 240 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 241 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 242 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-372409 EBF 140 FDPS 6-188
Page 319 ~ Duplicate 100-372409-183 (Sec 3)
Page 320 ~ Duplicate 100-372409-183 (Sec 3)
Page 321 ~ Duplicate 100-372409-183 (Sec 3)
Page 322 ~ Duplicate 100-372409-183 (Sec 3)
Page 323 ~ Duplicate 100-372409-183 (Sec 3)
Page 324 ~ Duplicate 100-372409-183 (Sec 3)